

**SPOKEN ENGLISH AS A WORLD LANGUAGE: INTERNATIONAL AND
INTRANATIONAL SETTINGS**

Paul Roberts B.A.

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Abstract

This thesis sets out to characterise English as a World Language, in contrast with English used in homogeneous, intranational settings. After a brief introduction, the relevant literature is reviewed in two chapters: firstly the concept of an international variety of English is challenged and, following this, there is consideration of current thinking under the headings of English as an International Language and English as Lingua Franca. This preliminary part of the thesis leads to some hypotheses concerning the way in which EWL might be characterised, with particular attention to attitudes among different sorts of speaker.

Chapter Five introduces methodologies (1) for finding data-providing participants and (2) assessing their language-related attitudes relevant to the research questions. It continues by (3) examining ways of obtaining spoken data and (4) of transcribing and (5) analysing it. Chapter 6 presents the specific methodological choices for this thesis. The following four chapters provide results. Firstly, brief results are given of tests applied to ascertain participants' language-related attitudes. Following this, the results of analysing and explaining the spoken data itself are given. Chapter 8 closely compares one EWL conversation with one homogeneous one and draws tentative conclusions about what might be found in the remaining conversations: that EWL may be characterised by greater convergence among speakers, irrespective of whether or not they are native speakers. Chapter 9 examines the whole suite of conversations in this light and the previous results are generally confirmed: the speakers in homogeneous conversations tend to be as divergent as they are convergent, where in EWL conversations they try their best to maintain an atmosphere of comity. Chapter 10 completes the results section by comparing the performance of six speakers in

particular, who each participate in an EWL conversation and in a homogeneous one. They are found to draw on convergence strategies for their EWL conversations while being more direct and divergent in their homogeneous ones. Chapter 11 attempts to summarise the preceding chapters and to draw some conclusions from the results.

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Chapter One

Introduction

1. Changing English, Changing view of English

1.1 The Growing number of people speaking English

It is a commonplace notion that language changes and a widely held view that language spread and language change form one unified concept (Brutt-Griffler 2002:109-110), but the nature and speed of recent changes in English are, when compared to past changes, quite extraordinary. Whereas two hundred years ago the number of people using English, whether written or spoken was limited to Britain and to a few pockets of colonial settlers, by 1950 the number had increased to about 900 million and the figure for the year 2000 seems to be in the region of 2 billion (Graddol 1997). Graddol predicts that this number is set to increase by a great deal more, suggesting that between 2005 and 2010, ‘nearly a third of the world population will all be trying to learn English at the same time’ (Graddol 2004:5).

It is also generally agreed that this exponential and continuing increase in the number of users of English has taken two distinct directions. On the one hand, change has meant the fragmentation of English into diverse varieties, often referred to under the heading ‘World Englishes’ or ‘New Englishes’, while on the other, the rapid change has also led to unification, under the heading ‘World English’ or ‘Global English’ (Preisler 1995, Graddol 1996, Toolan 1997, Brutt-Griffler 2002:176, Bolton 2003:4,).

This thesis does not concern itself, or concerns itself only tangentially, with the former result of language change and will not deal centrally with either ‘local’ standard Englishes or ‘local’ vernaculars (Graddol 1996). Instead, it will focus on the latter result of change, the apparent coming together of English users and whatever it is that they share, rather than what they do not.

The current notion of English as a World language has little to do with the suggestion and prediction made in 1832 by Jacob Grimm, that ‘the English language may with all right be called a world-language; and, like the English people, appears destined hereafter to prevail with a sway more extensive even than its present over all portions of the globe’ (Grimm 1832, cited in Pennycook, 1994:70). In connecting English to ‘the English people’, Grimm was, accurately, predicting the colonial spread of that nation and its language. The current linguistic unification of the world has several explanations, of which the British colonial past is but one (Graddol 2004). There are, however, still similarities with English changes brought about by colonialism: chief among them is that English as a World Language (as opposed to World Englishes) is, still, the currency of an elite or those aspiring to be in an elite. Fishman, one of the first to write about English in its new guise, comments that the spread of English may have a lot ‘to do with the growing dominance of the richer countries over the poorer ones (and not merely economically or particularly politically, but also culturally)’ (Fishman et. al. 1996:4), Toolan describes Global English as ‘the language of international high-flyers’ (Toolan 1997) and McArthur, somewhat reluctantly perhaps, concludes that ‘what is shared worldwide, in fact, is not the language at large but a standard variety common to the media, business, and what one is constrained to call, for want of a better phrase, a Western-educated international elite’ (McArthur 1996:14). Pennycook, too, considers that those participating in World English are, in fact, minorities who, by implication, are at the top of their relative social hierarchies (Pennycook 2002).

The important political and cultural question concerning the extent to which the use of English is a liberating experience, allowing movement across hierarchies and the expansion of the elite to the potential inclusion of all or, conversely, a constraining

and excluding phenomenon, serving to limit some people to being subordinate to others, will barely be touched on here. Suffice it to say that, as part of the global, cultural flow of persons, information, technology, finance, ideology and ideas (Appadurai 1996), English is clearly part of the 'liberation' of some while it is part of the suppression of others.

1.2. Research in English studies relevant to the changes

Research and intellectual interest in the fragmentation result of recent changes in English has been rich and diverse for many decades. Much of this interest has followed well-established traditions, treating 'World Englishes' or 'New Englishes' in the same way as English has always been studied. Bolton provides a useful chart, plotting the different approaches and grouping them according to their intellectual roots. He thus fits the study of 'World Englishes' into 'English Studies', 'English corpus linguistics', 'Sociolinguistic approaches', 'Kachruvian studies', 'Pidgin and Creole studies', 'Applied linguistics', 'Lexicography', 'Popularisers', 'Critical linguistics' and 'Linguistic futurology' (Bolton 2003:42-43).

The other result of the changes, the unificatory one, does not fit so easily into these traditions (although some studies have attempted to make it do so), nor has it had a tradition of its own. In 1994, Ammon noted, in his entry 'International Languages' in 'The Encyclopaedia of Language and Linguistics', that '....there is no significant research tradition within which a widely accepted concept (of international languages) could have been established' (Ammon 1994: 1725).

Ammon's assertion was made more than ten years after the pioneering research carried out by Larry Smith in the late 1970s. Smith suggested that English as an International Language might be taught to native and non-native speakers alike,

serving the purpose of communicating across national and cultural boundaries (Smith, L. 1976, 1978, 1979, 1981). But inasmuch as Smith was working within what Bolton has called 'Kachruvian Studies', it could be claimed that he was, after all, seeking to describe and to propagate another English in the fragmented field of World Englishes.

Around the time that Ammon published his encyclopoedia entry, Pennycook's work emerged as one of the first to acknowledge what he calls a 'bottom-up' approach to World English, based on people using English, rather than on a description of the English language or a variety of it (Pennycook 1994). Pennycook's work, and the earlier study by Phillipson on linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992), are both included in Bolton's table under the 'Critical linguistics' heading; Pennycook's study stands out, however, as having little to do with the establishment, whether or not through imperialist design, of 'New Englishes' and a great deal to do with the post-modern, world-wide 'discourse' of English. More recently, Brutt-Griffler has attempted to bring together the development of World Englishes and World English by refuting Phillipson's claims (Brutt-Griffler 2002).

Since 1994, there have been several smaller-scale pieces intent on problematising World English in different ways. Three examples may be found in the review 'English Today' and one in '*NeusprachlicheMitteilungen*': in the former journal, Ahulu suggests a re-definition of 'Standard English' in the context of English being used internationally (Ahulu 1997), Toolan, referred to above, focuses on the distinction between World Englishes and World English (Toolan 1997) and Modiano proposes an alternative to Kachru's three circles which accounts for global, as opposed to local English competence (Modiano 1999a); in the German publication,

Gnutzmann suggests that what he calls Global English 'refers to a set of communicative contexts definable by extralinguistic factors' (Gnutzmann 1998:133). Alongside journal articles such as these, there has indeed grown up, since Ammon's piece on International Languages, what may be thought of as a research tradition where the focus of interest is the way in which English is used to achieve communication across national and cultural boundaries. An early precursor to later work may be found in a paper by Campbell, Ekniyom, Haque and Smith, whose research focused on problems encountered in various teaching institutions where the main thrust of the learning was towards using English internationally (Campbell et. al. 1983). But one of the first attempts seriously to describe what happens when English is used internationally came with Firth's 1990 use of the 'Lingua Franca' label and the proposal to use an interactional approach to its description (Firth 1990). This was followed by a paper in 1996 where Firth attempted to establish a principle of 'Lingua Franca' English, the 'let-it-pass' principle (Firth 1996). The 'Lingua Franca' label has been enthusiastically taken up by other researchers such as House, Jenkins, Meierkord, Lesznyák and Mauranen. House follows directly on from Firth, questioning and re-examining the 'let-it-pass' principle (House 1999 and 2002b) while Jenkins provides one of the very few book-length studies, taking up the 'Lingua Franca' label and proposing a set of phonological 'core' items which may characterise it (Jenkins 2000b). Christiane Meierkord was the first to produce a helpful bibliography of English used in this way and has gone on to produce several brief studies of 'Lingua Franca' small talk, the contribution of speakers' home culture to English and the extent to which participants in 'Lingua Franca' conversations pool features from their home varieties of English (Meierkord 2000, 2002, 2004). Seidlhofer has been concerning herself with building up a corpus of

‘Lingua Franca’ English while also contributing to the discussion of how it may be characterised (Seidlhofer 2000, 2001, 2002) and Mauranen has, similarly, begun the setting up of a ‘Lingua Franca’ corpus (Mauranen 2003). Finally, Lesznyák has contributed a book-length study of topic management in Lingua Franca settings (Lesznyák 2004).

As well as seeking to characterise or describe English as it currently exists for the sake of satisfying intellectual, scientific requirements, there is an underlying current in much research which hopes to identify norms, or at least patterns in contemporary global English which could provide models for teaching purposes. Here too, the distinction between the fragmentation tradition, with its emphasis on World Englishes, and the more recent research tradition concerned with unification, or World English, is crucial. Many of those working within the former field show a concern to establish local norms for the teaching of English, which reflect local use (Bamgbose 1998). On the other hand, researchers such as Seidlhofer and Jenkins are keen to establish principles which may inform English language teaching for cross-national, cross-cultural purposes (Jenkins 2000b, Seidlhofer 2001, Dürmüller 2003). This endeavour requires norms, if indeed they can be established, which are neither local, in the World Englishes sense, nor traditionally connected to native speakers.

2. This research thesis in context

This thesis is situated firmly in the area explored by Campbell et. al., by Firth and by those following him. More precisely, it is to be seen in the context of the work done by Firth, by House, by Meierkord and by Lesznyák, in that the focus is on spoken English across national and cultural boundaries, the approach is mostly at discourse

level (rather than at phonological, lexical or grammatical level) and the ultimate application is to teaching English for global purposes.

The research carried out thus far in the field has, however, been founded on the tradition of dividing English users into distinct groups. The division with the longest tradition assigns users to either the native speaker or the non-native speaker group; a later tradition breaks users up into three groups: users of English as a national language, as a second language and as a foreign language. Kachru began the tradition of re-naming these three groups as inner circle, outer circle or expanding circle users (Kachru 1985). Others have attempted further re-naming (see, for example, Jenkins 2000b).

Whereas these divisions have been questioned and problematised (Rampton 1990, Medgyes 1992, Singh et. al. 1998) they have nevertheless underlain much of the research into World English. In particular, ‘native speakers’ and ‘ESL’ users of English (or ‘Outer Circle’ users) have been mostly excluded from the research carried out by Firth, House, Meierkord and Jenkins and continue to be almost excluded from the lingua franca corpora being developed by Seidlhofer and Mauranen. This tendency towards exclusion may be a reaction to the previous tradition whereby English spoken by anyone but so-called native speakers was always considered against native-speaker English. Indeed, Lesznyák’s study, concerned with characterising English as Lingua Franca, uses non-native speaker interactions with native-speakers as its point of contrast: Lingua Franca English is defined in opposition to English used by, or in the presence of, native speakers (Lesznyák 2004).

The conclusions so far achieved concerning discoursal characteristics of World English are conclusions about the way expanding circle users achieve

communicative aims when speaking with other expanding circle users (just as the conclusions concerning the phonology of English as an International Language are based on expanding circle speakers – Jenkins 2000b). One of the reasons for this limitation seem to be that expanding circle users constitute the majority of English speakers and that, as the label suggests, will soon constitute an even greater majority. Another reason has to do with the pedagogic implications of the research: in order to train language learners for a global future, it has been rightly considered that a native speaker model or a ‘New English’ model, is quite inappropriate; this has, it seems, led to the exclusion of native speakers and expanding circle users from the data.

This thesis follows the ‘post-modern’ view that language users are not so easily divided into groups (Canagarajah 2005) and that, in any case, World English includes all users of English, irrespective of how they acquired their language and of whether or not they constitute the majority. By using spoken English data supplied by a wide range of users from different countries, the thesis, following Firth, House, Meierkord and Lesznyák, attempts to characterise the way in which participants in international conversations achieve their aims at discourse level.

In order to verify whether this characterisation has truly to do with international settings, a contrast is naturally necessary. Where Lesznyák chose to contrast a conversation among non-native speakers of English with one where non-native speakers were interacting with native speakers, this thesis, given the abandonment of traditional divisions, will instead contrast conversations in international settings with conversations where all the participants share a nationality. In most instances, these homogeneous groups share much more than that, also having in common another language and culture. It is hoped, therefore, that a picture of the conversational

discourse of World English may emerge which is both inclusive and a true reflection of the current multilingual world of global flows (Appadurai 1996).

Having established that the approach taken to language in this thesis is a discursal one, it is important to emphasise that, within that framework, several different analytical methods have been drawn on. In order to find differences between conversations in international settings and those among homogeneous speakers, an eclectic range of analytical tools have been used from pragmatics, conversation analysis, discourse analysis, intercultural communication and communication accommodation theory.

3 Overview

The first part of this thesis concerns itself with delineating the research tradition within which it is located.

Chapter Two is concerned with the tradition of identifying varieties of English and focuses on the attempted establishment of a global variety. It begins by an examination of 'Standard English', long held up as the international norm to which all global users would, or even should accommodate and goes on to examine the concept of World Standard English, a would-be replacement for Standard English without the national, or even nationalistic overtones of the former and then of International English, World English and Global English. The aim of this is to investigate the possibility of fitting the data gathered for this thesis, and its analysis, into a ready-made variety of English.

Chapter Three turns to descriptive models where 'English' is accompanied by 'as' and then either: 'an international language' (EIL) or 'a lingua franca (ELF). By

focusing on users, rather than on an idealised form of ‘a’ language, a firmer basis for this type of research is suggested. The Chapter is nevertheless critical of both terms. In the first instance, the ‘international’ label seems, still, to insist on often false national boundaries and is predicated on a modernist view of the world divided into neat nationalities, each with its own language, using English for communication with other nationalities. The term ‘English as Lingua Franca’ has been used almost exclusively to refer to ‘expanding circle’ users (see above) and is therefore potentially confusing in the context of the more genuinely global aims which this thesis sets out to achieve.

Having established a research tradition within which to operate, the thesis then turns to an examination of what might be expected in conversations conducted in English across national and cultural boundaries. Chapter Four therefore deals with perceptions speakers may have of each other, including the perception that some users are ‘native speakers’ while others are not, the possibility or otherwise that speakers will accommodate to each other, the directions accommodation might take and the likelihood of users attempting to follow particular rules. The chapter attempts, therefore, to justify the explanatory approach to language analysis which informs Chapters 8, 9 and 10.

Following this speculative chapter, Chapters Five and Six are concerned with approaches to the concrete language data. Chapter Five provides an overview of different possible ways of obtaining data-providers and of screening them for language-based attitudes, particularly those to do with the status of native and non-native speakers but also language-based attitudes towards each other. The chapter continues by examining ways of obtaining conversational data and different ways in which the data may be analysed, bearing in mind that the aim is to take a discursal

view. Chapter Six then focuses on the actual procedures used to identify data-providing people, to screen them, to elicit conversational data from them and to analyse the data in order to fulfil the research aims.

Chapter 7 presents the results of the screening procedures and reports findings from researcher-led discussion groups and questionnaires based on participants listening to each other. These results are used to help explain conversational behaviour in subsequent chapters.

Chapters 8, 9 and 10 present the data gathered and the results obtained therefrom. Chapter 8 takes one international conversation and compares it with one intranational conversation. This one-to-one approach allows for a turn-by-turn analysis of each conversation and serves as an overview of the method adopted for the data as a whole. Provisional conclusions concerning discourse strategies and conversational style are drawn from the contrast between the two conversations under scrutiny.

Chapter 9 takes the findings from Chapter 8 and applies them, in less detail, to the remaining conversations. Thus discourse strategy and conversational style provide the framework for considering how all the conversations work and how the international conversations differ from the intranational ones. Explanations for differences are offered in conclusion.

Chapter 10 consists of six case studies where six of the seventy plus data-providers are examined in detail with a view to affirming the generality of the conclusions drawn in Chapter 9 and to providing further in-depth analysis of the differences between international and intranational conversations.

Finally, Chapter 11 summarises the thesis and looks briefly at upshots: some consideration is given to possible pedagogic applications of the research and suggestions for possible future research

Chapter Two

Is English as a World Language a variety of English?

1. Introduction

Chapter One considered, albeit briefly, the possibility that World English might be a variety in its own right, to be seen alongside other varieties of English or other Englishes.

This Chapter will attempt to capture the current world-wide phenomenon of English by dealing with it in these terms. If such endeavours are successful, the comforting prospect is raised of a describable object of particular interest to teachers used to a transmission mode of teaching, who would then have something concrete to transmit. Several proposals have been made along these lines and a range of adjective+English formulae have been suggested as labels to classify the way people speak and write English across cultural and national boundaries. They are: Standard English, World Standard English, International English, World English and Global English. Each one will be dealt with in order to consider its validity as a framework within which to present the data gathered for this research. In other words, this Chapter will attempt to answer the question posed in its title.

The naming of Englishes in this way, and the assumption that the name exists to denote a reified entity, seems to belong to a long tradition of English Studies, referred to by Bolton as ‘Anglistik’, which has incorporated synchronic language study into the diachronic tradition. (Bolton 2003:42-43). McArthur’s variation on the chronological model for language description puts ‘World English’ at the end of a narrative time line starting with ‘Pre-Old English’ and passing through ‘Middle English’ and ‘Modern English’ (McArthur 1998, Chapter 4).

Similarly, World English may be seen as an entry on what McArthur calls a ‘biological’ model or a ‘geopolitical’ model of English: in the former, English is represented as the root from which other varieties have stemmed while in

the latter adjective+English formulae are mapped onto national or regional boundaries (McArthur 1998 Chapter 4). A good example of a geopolitical model is to be found in Görlach (Görlach 1988 in Crystal 1997) where a large number of Englishes, or varieties of English, are identified as segments of a circle (See Fig 1).

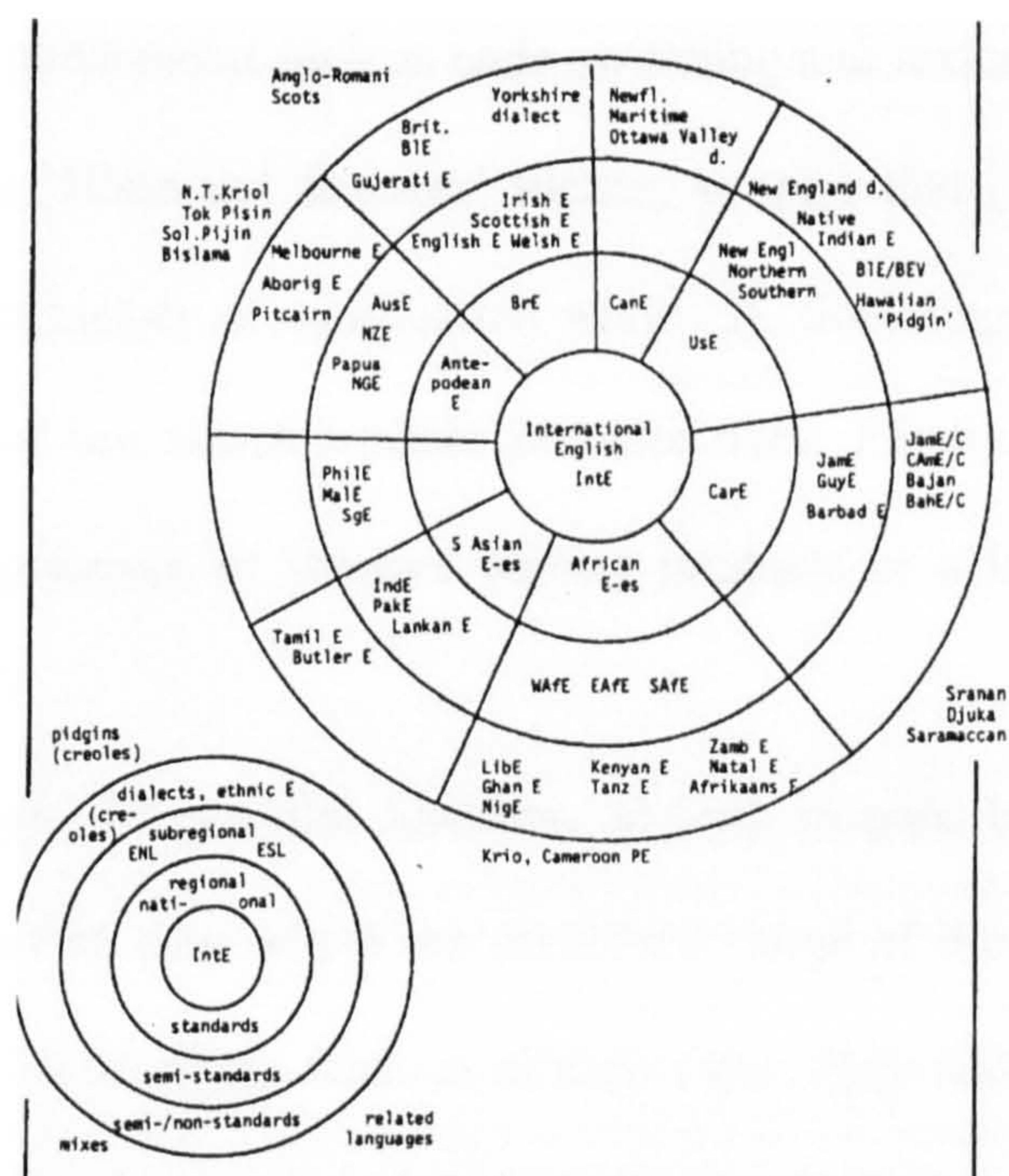


Fig 1. Görlach's geopolitical model of Englishes

In order to be admitted into the fold of adjective+Englishes, potential entrants may have to satisfy one or more of a set of criteria which are worth mentioning in order to provide a critical context in which to judge the validity or otherwise of the unificatory varieties of English listed above (International English, World English, etc.).

A possible first criterion is the criterion of stability. English may not be preceded by an adjective if the resulting reference is to an unstable entity. The authors of the authoritative 'Grammar of Contemporary English' imply as much when they state that what they call 'interference' varieties of English have stabilised themselves and

become varieties in their own right (Quirk et. al. 1972) and Davies defines standard varieties of English as ones which ‘do not have instability’ (Davies 1989:461).

Further criteria come in a paper by Llamzon, who proposes four features which allow the identification of a ‘New’, adjective+English label to be added to the list. (1) ‘Ecological features’ have to do with the environment in which the variety develops and comprise phenomena such as code-switching and lexical borrowings from local languages. (2) ‘Historical features’ means, simply, that ‘New Englishes’ have a relatively short history of codification while (3) ‘Sociolinguistic features’ indicates the domains of use which include intimate ones. Finally, (4) ‘Cultural features’ indicates the presence of creative writing products or a local literature (Llamzon 1983:100-104).

Platt, Weber and Ho parallel Llamzon, at least in part, by suggesting that ‘New Englishes’ must be ones which are used for a range of functions among those who use them and which adopt features of their own. They add, however, that a ‘New’ English must also be developed through the local education system. (Platt, Weber and Ho 1984:2-3). The inclusion of an institutional criterion seems to be implied in McArthur’s list of ‘de facto’ situations where English has taken root and becomes explicit where the situation is ‘de jure’ (McArthur 1998, Chapter 2).

Apart from suggesting criteria, Platt, Weber and Ho also identify different approaches to defining Englishes: these are political, regional, ethnic, functional and language description (Platt, Weber and Ho 1984:5-6). Görlach’s segmented circle (see Fig. 1) seems to include Englishes defined according to the first three of these approaches, such as United States English, New England English and Native Indian English and Andrew Dalby’s list of ‘inner-languages’, a term he takes from David Dalby (Dalby, D. 1998), ‘within the entity usually defined as English’ reflects a

similar focus and therefore includes Canadian English, Antipodean English and Talkin-Black (Dalby, A. 2002: 25).

More recently than Llamzon and Platt et.al., Butler's list of criteria has endorsed the ecological and cultural features criteria by suggesting that a World English can be identified by 'particular words and phrases which spring up usually to express key features of the physical and social environment and which are regarded as peculiar to the variety' and by 'a literature written without apology in that variety of English'. Butler also seems to concur with the points concerning history and institutionalisation, asserting that a World English has its own reference works, evidence of its own norms. She gives more weight to the notion of historical community than her predecessors and adds the criterion of pronunciation which must have a 'standard and recognisable pattern (which is) handed down from one generation to another' (Butler 1997: 106).

The criteria of stability and institutionalisation have not necessarily been universally accepted. Kachru, glossing his renowned three-circle model of English, identifies outer circle varieties as institutionalised, but calls expanding circle Englishes 'performance' varieties, with a highly restricted functional range (Kachru 1992c). More recently, Meierkord has distinguished between Englishes which have stabilised through development within education systems and those which have not stabilised at all (Meierkord 2004). The important point here is that the label 'variety' seems still to be applicable, as, indeed, is the adjective+English formula.

At the same time, the political, regional and ethnic approaches to variety definition have been added to by what may be termed a 'corporate approach'. There are, then, attested claims to support the existence of, for example, German English (Smith 1984:57, Viereck 1996: 23), Korean English (Meierkord 2004), China English as

well as Chinese English (Qiong, 2004), Euro-English (Warschauer 2000, Modiano 2001) and also Nokia English, the logical conclusion of that company's policy to use English only as its language of business (McArthur 2003). The notion of a political, regional or ethnic speech community may therefore been extended to that of a company community.

The adjective+English expressions given above, used to describe the current global phenomenon will now be dealt with in turn. A couple of general points are, however, worth making first.

The criterion of stability is unlikely to apply to any of the formulae except 'Standard English'. With current technologically-aided descriptive approaches to language study, as opposed to older prescriptive methods, spoken language of any kind is unlikely to be very stable. Crystal, for example, describes 'the spoken British English of Britain' as 'a mass of hybrid forms' (Crystal 2001: 61). Stability is even less likely if spoken language is being used by a much vaster number of people from a great diversity of backgrounds.

Similarly, the institutionalisation criterion is bound to fail for all the Englishes listed except Standard English, since there is no single world-wide structure which acts to make a particular variety of English the acceptable one, either *de jure* or *de facto*.

Finally, regional, ethnic and corporate approaches to definition are, self-evidently, doomed to failure, unless the entire world is considered to be a region, and, staunch internationalists and journalistic cant apart, 'the international community' is non-existent, so any political approach to defining 'International English' would be aspirational, not factual.

2. Standard English

Until fairly recently, the phenomenon of English being used widely throughout the world was accounted for by referring to Standard English: historically there has been no perceived difference between the English used across community boundaries and 'Standard English' or, more precisely, 'Standard British English' or 'Standard American English'. It is a history which has been perpetuated until very recently: Honey, for example, asserts that 'Standard English, in either its British or American variety, has become recognised as the language of international communication' (Honey 1991:28) and Quirk confirms that 'Germans and Japanese learn standard BrE or AmE' (Quirk 1991a).

In a possible rebuttal to those objecting to the diffusion of Standard English, Preisler argues that 'in its two main varieties' (meaning British and American), it should form the basis for the functioning of English as international lingua franca 'for communicative reasons' (Preisler 1995:342), while Lowenberg implies that Standard English is the world-wide norm when he states that 'Standard English differs only minimally across varieties, generally sharing a large set of common norms', being used 'with mutual comprehensibility in international communication' (Lowenberg 2000: 211). The implicit dominance of Standard English is present even in very recent writing. Qiong, for example, in defending China English, states that this is 'as good a communicative tool as standard English' (Qiong 2004).

There are three main problems in considering Standard English to be the language used for general communication across the globe. The first has to do with defining what Standard English is, while the second centres on the difficulty of using a monolithic model of English, an idealisation rather than a reality. The third problem

may be thought of as an ideological one, where the British or American associations have to be called into question.

2.1. Defining Standard English

According to Davies, the term 'Standard English' seems to refer to grammar: he concludes that standardisation is a process whereby an individual's grammar (which Davies calls Grammar 1) is converted to a shared grammar (Grammar 2) (Davies 1991a:125). Trudgill appears to agree, arguing that dialects show themselves through grammar, therefore implying that Standard English does the same. He also maintains that there is such a thing as Standard Lexis, which is often shared with non-standard varieties (while non-standard lexis does not occur in Standard English) (Trudgill 1999:117-8).

Crystal gives grammar, vocabulary and orthography as features of Standard English, and leaves out pronunciation (Crystal 1994). Widdowson agrees on the orthographical question and that pronunciation is not a factor (Widdowson 1994), a point of view with which Stevens concurs (Stevens 1983, cited in MacKay 2002: 51-2). Smith uses field research results to reach the 'logical' conclusion that Standard English can be spoken in any accent (Smith 1992), and Honey agrees, with the rider that Standard English 'is seldom (indeed perhaps never) spoken in the broadest forms of regional accent' (Honey 1997: 1). His reference to broad forms of regional accents does point, however, to a 'narrow' form of 'non-regional' accent which may perhaps be taken to be the standard form.

For others writing on Standard English, phonological forms are most definitely included. Partridge, for example, refers to Cooper's Grammar as having established that 'the criterion of correct Standard English rests firmly on its pronunciation'

(Partridge 1969) and Giles and Ryan identify people using 'non-standard' pronunciation (Giles and Ryan 1982). Modiano is categorical on the matter: having defined Standard English as a spoken standard including only forms of language which are comprehensible to competent speakers of the language worldwide, he concludes that accent is important and that Standard English cannot be spoken with anything other than a standard accent (Modiano 1999b).

Mugglestone's work entitled 'Talking Proper' would appear to be, at least currently, the last word on the subject. She shows clearly how pronunciation went through a standardisation process within England and how that process continues; she also raises the question of the standardisation of pronunciation as an ideological goal and points to the long tradition of 'polite' speech and its renaming as 'educated' speech being held up as standards for all (Mugglestone 2003).

The existence of codified phonological systems such as 'RP' and 'GA', for long enshrined in dictionaries, as well as the fact that there is a long tradition of teaching materials aimed at helping learners of English to acquire a 'correct' pronunciation also suggests that there is, de facto, a Standard English phonology. In a well-known English Language text book, the authors refer to pronunciation in terms of Standard British English (Swan and Walter 1993:40).

Orthography is a far less contentious contender for inclusion into Standard English. Derwing, Rossiter and Ehrensberger-Dow, for example, include punctuation in their list of Standard English features adhered to by non-native users of English but abandoned by native speakers (Derwing, Rossiter Ehrensberger-Dow 2002).

The inclusion of orthography in Standard English is part of the perception that Standard English is a written language rather than a spoken one: the 'channel' argument, that Standard English is a reference to a written code, is a strong one in

the literature. Quirk opines that Standard English is an 'unmarked variety, associated with written English' (Quirk 1990, cited in McKay 2002: 51-2) while Carter suggests that 'there is a close relationship between Standard English and the written language'; he notes that 'native speakers consider language ungrammatical when it does not occur in formal written styles' (Carter 1999: 12-13) and Cheshire makes the point that 'the spoken language has not received enough attention to be able to talk about a standard' (Cheshire 1999).

Honey seems to disagree, maintaining that while non-standard English is a spoken language, Standard English is both written and spoken (Honey 1991).

If there is some confusion regarding the identification of Standard English with the written channel, there is considerably more when it comes to equating it with a particular style. Preisler opines that Standard English is 'the overtly prestigious variety that speakers of non-standard English will accommodate to according to the formality of the situation.' (Preisler 1999:262), while Trudgill maintains the opposite, stating that non-standard English has nothing to do with its being colloquial or informal (Trudgill 1995, quoted in Davis 1999:70).

The problem here seems to be that, despite Preisler's matching of variety and formality, style is really often a question of language users' perceptions, rather than items inherent in grammar, lexis or phonology.

This leads to the question of whether or not pragmatics can enter the Standard English equation.

For Nero, the narrow area of 'essayist rhetorical convention' is part of Standard English, although beyond this particular element, Standard written English is, he thinks, a myth (Nero 2002:55). Meierkord implies that there are discourse features inherent in Standard English by noticing, among participants in *Lingua Franca*

exchanges, that signals such as backchanneling, topic markers and phrase boundaries are different from those normally employed in 'Standard L1 varieties' (Meierkord 2002:120).

It has already been noted that Preisler proposes that the English to be used across the world should be based on British or American Standard English. He appears to want to extend this basis to pragmatic factors, thus perhaps, perceiving pragmatic norms as part of Standard English: he proposes that 'shared cultural assumptions should be reflected in the teaching of pragmatics and they should derive from the cultural contexts of Standard English' (Preisler 1999:266).

In the main, however, all the voices in the literature concur that Standard English does not include pragmatic norms. Kramsch is very clear on the matter, stating that 'while there is such a thing as standardised or conventionalised English usage (a linguistic concept), there can be no such thing as standardised language use (a social concept)' (Kramsch 1998) and Davies notes that communication among users of Standard English goes awry because of a lack of similar cultural assumptions; he gives an example of politeness norms which are violated by some users of Standard English and concludes that the 'reason for triggering (of norm-violation) is external to the language itself' (Davies 1991a:143).

As can be seen, then, there is no strong consensus as to the meaning of Standard English and in particular on the issues of whether or not there is a standard pronunciation, whether or not there is a standard spoken language and whether or not pragmatic norms form part of the standard language.

2.2. Descriptive problems

It would seem therefore to be fruitless to attempt to account for the world-wide use of English by referring to an ill-defined object; it seems equally fruitless, or at least inaccurate to assert that Standard English in one of its two major forms is, in fact, either the basis for oral communication on a global scale or even the norm of correctness to which those involved in spoken cross-cultural communication refer. When Quirk affirms that Germans and Japanese learn Standard English (see above), it may be more correct to say that this is what they are taught. Whether or not they learn it is another matter. Honey's assertion, in the same vein, that Standard English is recognised as the language of international communication may be true only at a similarly theoretical, even hopeful level.

In the first place, it is quite clear that the majority of British and American people do not speak in Standard English and do not refer to it as a norm of correctness. If, as has been suggested by many, Standard English is a written code (see 2.1. above) it is a logical non sequitur that it is used in speech: spontaneous speech only very rarely replicates the written word (Milroy 1999:21, Trudgill 1999: 118). When it comes to using Standard English as a criterion of correctness, even for spoken conversation, the situation is a little more complex. Because of (largely old-fashioned) schooling conventions, it is customary at least for some 'native speakers' to refer to learned rules of Standard English in order to adjust their own speech or to criticise the speech of others (Milroy 1999:25). In a piece of research conducted by Hultfors, 'native speaker' participants 'corrected' the speech of 'non-native' users by simply making utterances more formal, underlining, perhaps, the idea that Standard English is the ultimate, though unattained goal of conversational English (Hultfors 1987).

This perceived goal explains the shame, detected by Joos and felt by Americans who were aware that they did not use Standard English in their conversations (Joos 1967:4).

Other 'native speakers' seem, however, to make a point of not referring to Standard English in their oral production. In data gathered for this thesis (reported in detail in Chapter 7), several speakers proudly defend their own variety of spoken English and ridicule the idea that they should even try to adjust their speech to conform to Standard English norms. This example comes from a twenty-two year-old, adamant that his language norms are as good as those stereotypically associated with Oxford:

John: The way of speaking it. I am a Hemelite so this is like a Hemel, a Hemel tone, Hemel phrases. I do 'ain't' and 'innit', you know what I mean? But if someone from Oxford would come down and say well that's not English but to me that's English. But that Oxford person has come in and learned the words inside out for him to tell me it's not English.. you can't really put a specification on it, because it is..

(Appendix K. D3: 105-110)

As Crystal points out: 'the spoken British English of Britain is already a mass of hybrid forms (Crystal 2001: 60-61).

English used across cultural boundaries seems to follow the same patterns as English among British or American speakers. Many, perhaps most, 'non-native' users of English turn away from the norms of Standard English as a way of regulating their conversations. In a 1981 survey, conducted by W.D.Shaw, between a third and a half of Singaporeans and Indians thought they should learn their own variety of

English (and not a British or American one) (Shaw 1981). The idea that they needed schooling in Singaporean or Indian English seems to show that they perceived these as the varieties supplying norms of correctness.

Nearly twenty years later, Kramsch notes that the native-speaker norm is being eroded because of (among other things) the variety of different Englishes across the world and the inadequacy of NS English to express social norms of other societies (Kramsch 1998), a point also made by Kachru, who argues strongly against the idea that those failing to adhere to 'native speaker' norms are learners of English who will never acquire full competence (Kachru 1994b, quoted by Silva 2000:162).

Warschauer concludes that users of 'New Englishes' in the 'Outer Circle' emphasise their own version of English ' while even those in the Expanding Circle seem to be rejecting native speaker like models' (Warschauer 2000:515) and Lowenberg also concludes that the norms accepted by highly educated native speakers are no longer valid and that uses in countries where English has achieved official status have led to modifications which are de facto norms (Lowenberg 2000).

There is clearly a great deal of variability in language use, making the concept of Standard English difficult to sustain when it comes to oral interaction of any kind (Ahlu 1997:19). This seems particularly true of cross-cultural oral interaction. Knapp observes that "It is not self-evident that interactants in L(ingua) F(ranca) situations apply the norms of a particular English speaking community' and Beneke notes that "E(nglish as a) L(ingua) F(ranca) is characterised by manifestations of uncertainties concerning the applicable norms at all levels of the language system including socio-pragmatic norms" (Knapp 1987, Beneke 1991, cited by Lesznyák, 2002: 163-4).

Finally, it has been suggested that any users of Standard English tend to diverge from their standards in order to make themselves understood internationally (Warschauer 2000:515).

If Standard English does not account for the way English is used, or is not the criterion against which users attempt to adjust or correct their speech, perhaps the answer is to redefine Standard English or even to construct a new 'spoken' Standard English.

Carter seems to think this is possible, claiming that '.....there are forms of spoken English which are perfectly standard and which are indeed grammatically correct (Carter 1999: 158), while Milroy rejects the idea out of hand (Milroy 1999:24). It is nevertheless true that patterns not normally codified in SE grammar books, do occur regularly (not to say standardly) in speech. Cheshire, for example, identifies items in what she calls 'Standard Spoken Grammar', items such as left dislocation (Cheshire 1999).

But where patterns have been identified, they have remained on the level of patterns, and seem to be much more culturally specific than the standards for written language. Further, patterns among 'native speakers' have received considerably more attention than those occurring among 'non-native speakers', making their existence less relevant to global communication where the latter far outnumber the former: locating models of correctness within 'native-speaking countries' is incompatible with the 'global future' of the language (Graddol 1997:10).

In other words, where they exist, these patterns cannot account for the way English is used for oral communication across a range of different cultures by people in multilingual contexts.

2.3. Ideological problems

The point has already been made that 'Standard English' is generally considered to mean Standard British or Standard American English. Alongside this convention, the term 'native speaker' usually refers to citizens of Britain or the United States and to those migrating from these countries, or having descended from these migrants. Consequently, 'Standard English' is very frequently taken to mean the language used by 'native speakers', irrespective of the fact that both terms are idealisations, rather than empirically identifiable entities (See above, Milroy 1999:18).

Davies explicitly uses one to define the other, maintaining that 'you are a native speaker if you speak the standard language' because '*the process of standardising is an operational definition of the native speaker*' (Davies' italics, Davies 1991a: 63), and Braine places the adjectives 'standardised' and 'native' together before the phrase 'norms of the English language' while describing a tension between those norms and the ability of the 'non-native' language user to test their limits (Braine 1999).

While they have produced 'native speakers', some of whom have travelled the world, directly or indirectly influencing the learning of English, British and American institutions have also harnessed the standardising tendencies of English within their state boundaries to produce the grammar books and dictionaries to which most learners and users of English have traditionally referred. More recently, some compilers of linguistic corpora, influential in the world of English Language Teaching, have relied on 'native' speakers of 'Standard' English to provide all the examples in their work (for example Chafe et. al., 1991:69).

Such a state of affairs is bound to attract opposition of a political or ideological nature, especially in a world where the majority of users of English are not 'native

speakers' and do not think of themselves (or are not thought of) as using 'Standard English'.

One prong in the attack, developed by Phillipson, suggests that Standard English has been imposed on the world by the centralising and imperialist forces of Britain and the United States. Phillipson traces standardisation in its institutional form back to the Spanish monarchy at the close of the fifteenth century and shows how a national language such as Standard English comes to hold sway over local languages by political force. (Phillipson 1992: Chapter 2). The national political theory is also developed by Blank, who underlines the connectedness of standard language and nationhood (Blank 1996: Chapter 1). Phillipson proceeds to explain how Standard English has come to be imposed on large areas of the world as the language of the élite, relegating other languages and other varieties of English to categories such as 'vernacular', 'lingua franca' or 'international language' (Phillipson 1992: Chapter 3). Brutt-Griffler has, however, attempted to refute Phillipson's main claim, maintaining that English has become the major world language not because it has been imposed, but rather as the fruit of resistance to imperialism (Brutt-Griffler 2002).

A researcher in the twenty-first century cannot analyse spoken English data against an imperialist model of Standard English, nor can he or she equate English as the language of resistance and liberation with British or American standards. To do so would be to consider a great deal of English as 'defective', rather than as the naturally-evolved expression of a speech community. Thus Ahulu, for example, calls for a redefinition of Standard English which might accommodate developments often described as 'New Englishes' and which would acknowledge 'liberation linguistics' (Ahulu 1997).

Ahulu's is not the only 'post-colonial' voice to rail against the predominance of standardised, native norms. Kachru argues that the British and the Americans seemed to 'have lost the exclusive prerogative to control (the) standardisation (of English)' (Kachru 1985, quoted in Pennycook 1994:10), while Singh et. al. point up the flawed reasoning underlying the adoption of British English as a yardstick (Singh et. al. 1998) and Mufwene underlines an almost moral case for abandoning the norms of 'some little islander with no experience of the world' when trying to describe an international communication instrument (Mufwene, 1998).

To continue to refer to Standard English when attempting to describe how communication takes place across community boundaries in the world is therefore politically incorrect to the point of insensitivity. It is also likely to be factually incorrect, as Singh et al suggest (see above).

2.4. Conclusion

Standard English, as was mentioned in the introduction to this Chapter, satisfies the institutionalisation criterion for acceptance as a World English. It also clearly satisfies the creativity features criteria. Where Standard English is a less likely candidate for a place among World Englishes is in the ecological features area: lexical borrowings are discounted in Standard English (Trudgill 1999: cit) or are only counted once they have been assimilated and codified. Following Butler's criteria, it is debatable whether or not Standard English has its own pronunciation.

Even without reference to Llamzon, Platt, Weber and Ho or Butler, it would seem clear that accounting for cross-cultural, international or global oral communication by simply referring to Standard English is both inaccurate and politically unsustainable: for a term in widespread use in much serious literature, there is little

agreement on what it means or encompasses, it serves as neither a real pattern nor an ideal model for the vast majority of oral interactions in English, whether among 'native speakers' or across community boundaries and its use fails to take into account the justified political sensibilities of those who feel left out of its scope.

3. World Standard English

Whereas Standard English exists, despite resisting careful definition, World Standard English is an idea which has no concrete manifestation. No language data exists which has been dealt with under the 'World Standard English' heading.

For Quirk, a 'standard of standards' should emerge in the same way that national standards have arisen as the result of language users accommodating to each other (Quirk 1985: 4-5, cited by Davies, 1989: 458) and Crystal envisages a future World Standard Spoken English, available to a very large number of people who may use a dialect of English, or another language completely, in their daily life. World Standard Spoken English would be used by everyone when in contact with people from different speech communities (Crystal 1997: 13).

The problem with this vision is that it supposes that a standard variety emerges simply as the result of speakers communicating with each other and somehow agreeing on shared norms after a due period of accommodation. This process undoubtedly takes place *ad hoc* when speakers from different speech communities engage in interactions (Hope 2000). It is doubtful, however, whether a new standard can be constructed without some kind of 'top-down' intervention.

National standard languages have been codified, propagated and taken up as an index of nationhood, as one way among many for people to express their national cultural identity (Fishman 1969 and 1972). As Crystal seems to imply, there is no

question of World Standard English being used for this purpose. Without the unlikely institution of an international commission to oversee and codify it¹, and without the equally unlikely emergence of a 'world citizen' identity, there is little possibility of World Standard English coming out of its primitive state.

World Standard English fails all of the criteria for a 'New English' and, given its general unlikelihood, does not provide a plausible framework within which to present the data in this research thesis. In short, spoken English used internationally and cross-culturally cannot be presented by reference to World Standard English.

4. International English

While Standard English defies definition and seems politically incorrect and World Standard English seems to be a chimera, the term 'International English' presents different difficulties: it has been used to refer to three distinct phenomena: a world-wide standard acrolect, a more demotic basilect and a possible artificial language.

4.1. International English – as a standard language

Whereas the coiners and users of the term World Standard (Spoken) English seem fairly sure that it does not as yet refer to anything concrete, some users of the term International English are confident of the reality of the language. The Nuffield Enquiry Team, called upon, in the year 2000, to report on the state of language teaching and learning in schools in the United Kingdom, turned its attention to the way English is used and taught. Perhaps in an attempt to shock British schools into

¹ The Society for Pure English was set up in 1913 in response to the rapid spread of English over the world in order to assist the development of the language, guided 'by acknowledged principles of tradition and taste' and with an emphasis on inheritance, beauty, integrity and adequateness to express modern ideas. (SPE 1919). This, and similar organisations do not appear to have had any noticeable effect on English used over the world.

teaching pupils a form of English close to Standard English, the Team declared that 'UK English continues to become effectively a dialect of International English' and that 'native-speakers' of English will one day lose the capacity to use English internationally (Nuffield Languages Enquiry 2000:15). The word 'dialect' may have been chosen for its shock value, yet the Team seems to be sure of the existence of International English, presumably an acrolect above localised 'UK English'. The Enquiry report does not attempt to clarify what International English may be, or how it differs from other standard Englishes.

In an early paper, Davies seems to make explicit the underlying assumption of the Nuffield team's statement: that International English may be any one of the standard varieties (Davies 1989:461). Two years later he is not so sure: in his 1991 book, he hesitates between having International English as the automatic corollary of being a user of an 'existing L1 standard English' or as the result of being a second language user (Davies 1991a: 68).

Medgyes takes the same view of International English as Crystal (see section 3. above) does of 'World Standard', that it does not yet exist but that it undoubtedly will do so in the future (Medgyes 1999:185).

4.2. International English - a Lingua Franca

The view that International English may be a standard, or at least that there may one day be a standard International English, is a fairly recent view compared to the one that it is of relatively lower, basilectal status.

In 1978, Lester drew on language contact theory to explain the phenomenon of International English which, he maintained, could be separated into varieties such as 'Greek English' and 'Japanese English': these are creolised forms, or contact

languages. International English itself 'is a contact language made up of contact languages' (Lester 1978:13, quoted in Brutt-Griffler 2002:13).

There appears to be a certain lack of logic in the two statements: it is not clear how contact languages can be varieties of, and at the same time constituents of International English. At all events, the point seems to be that International English is a hotch-potch of pidgins and creoles. Lester seems to be describing a different phenomenon from the International English claimed by the Nuffield Languages Enquiry twenty odd years later (see above, 4.1).

Samarin takes a similar view to Lester's, but differs in that he sees International English as originating not in creolised or contact languages, but in the 'standard languages of politically and economically dominant nations'. He is nevertheless sure that International English is a Lingua Franca, 'a functional tool, lacking the elegance and sophistication of a standard language' (Samarin 1987:372).

Much more recently, Graddol seems to imply that International English, far from being a standard variety, is a reduced or simplified English and goes on to wonder whether International English has not 'emerged as a natural consequence of the increasing use of English as a medium of communication between speakers of different languages?' (Graddol 1996).

However simplified or lowly compared to standard languages, lingua francas are nevertheless 'full languages' according to Würm (Würm 1971:1017), or at least language varieties according to Hall (Hall 1966). Lingua Franca English is, for Seidlhofer, 'an additionally acquired system that serves as a means of communication between speakers of different first languages, or as a language by means of which the members of different speech communities can communicate with each other but which is not the native language of either – a language which has

no native speakers' (Seidlhofer 2001:146). It ought therefore to be possible to study International English (or 'Lingua Franca English'), and to describe it in accurate detail, in the same way that other varieties of spoken English have been described. Indeed, Seidlhofer is engaged in just such a project: the Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English (Seidlhofer 2005).

If International English in this sense is to be considered a variety in its own right, then it must be a performance variety and not an institutionalised one since it cannot fulfil the stability criterion. Its failure to do so leads Gnutzmann and House, for example, to conclude that it is not a variety at all (Gnutzmann 1998:133, House 2002a).

The second problem is that International English – Lingua Franca has no native speakers. Lesznyák is quite clear on the point: Lingua Franca is 'a contact language between speakers who do not share a mother tongue'..... 'Furthermore this language is per definition mother tongue to none of the participants' (Lesznyák 2002:166). The focus of the Vienna Oxford corpus is on communication among speakers 'from a wide range of first language backgrounds whose primary and secondary education (and socialization) did not take place in English' (Seidlhofer 2000).

It is precisely this limitation which this thesis has set out to overcome (see Chapter One).

4.3 A specially constructed International English

While the Nuffield team make claims for an International English as a standard language and Seidlhofer takes the contrary view, that it is a Lingua Franca, others have expressed the idea that International English might somehow be invented. The desire for an internationally serviceable, and therefore simplified English, led to no

fewer than seven proposals, made between 1889 and 1990, for a 'reduced English' (Graddol 1996).

The most recent proposal, expressed more as a fantasy than as a concrete suggestion, was made by Johnson, who imagines a language that would reflect what he called 'International English culture', consisting of 'what is experienced throughout the modern, technologically advanced world and taught in 'modern' curricula' (Johnson 1990: 305).

This artificial variety of English would contain only a few items specific to the cultures traditionally associated with English, would regularise 's' for all plurals and '-ed' for all past tenses and would use 'un' as the only negative prefix. It would be functional in style, 'inelegant, impersonal, soulless, boring and unstimulating beyond its literal content' (ibid, 309-310). The resulting International English would at least be easier to learn.

The pedagogic value of a specially-constructed language is emphasised by Seidlhofer in her analysis and application of Ogden's Basic English (Seidlhofer 2002). Given that English is largely a taught system for a majority of users, Seidlhofer proposes matching the prescriptivism of taught systems to her English as Lingua Franca data. This might be a fruitful area of analysis, but for the limitations implicit in studying Lingua Franca English (see above).

4.4. Conclusion

It seems, then, that there is some confusion as to what International English is but, of the three approaches, the one reported second here, equating International English with Lingua Franca English, is clearly the most robust.

Taking this approach, International English does not, of course, satisfy the stability and institutionalisation criteria, nor does it show any cultural features. There may be a case for considering it to be a performance variety, and therefore akin to Expanding Circle Englishes, in which case, only the sociolinguistic or functional criteria seem to apply. Furthermore, using Platt, Weber and Ho's approaches to naming Englishes, 'International English' does not seem to fit easily into any of their suggested categories, unless staunch internationalists consider it important to use the term as a political marker.

At all events, large and growing numbers of people seem to be excluded from International English approached as Lingua Franca English: these are the people who, however much they may participate in international interactions, perhaps code-switching from a different, local variety, are disqualified on the grounds that their primary and secondary education and socialization have taken place in English. This in effect means that whatever emerges from the spoken conversational data in this thesis cannot properly be considered to form part of International English.

5. World English

Leaving aside the dreamy hypothesis of World Standard English, the two remaining Englishes so far dealt with are based on exclusion. On the one hand, Standard English excludes other norm-providing Englishes from legitimacy in world-wide communication and on the other International English – Lingua Franca English, perhaps by reaction, excludes L1 Englishes. Neither English can therefore provide parameters for the current research which is based on data which is inclusive and representative of English used across a wide range of community boundaries.

Brutt-Griffler's use of the term 'World English' seems to go a long way towards an all-inclusive variety. She proposes a 'unified theory' of World English, to account for the coming together of different varieties of English, those associated with native speakers, as well as so-called 'New Englishes' (Brutt-Griffler 2002:109). Her World English theory does not accord any privileged status to so-called native speakers; neither does it exclude them. It appears, on the contrary, to give equal status to all users, therefore realising the wish expressed by D'Souza, in 1998, that 'The term World English will only make sense when all branches of the tree make an equal contribution to any description of English' (D'Souza 1988).

Brutt-Griffler is able to do this by effectively showing how the so-called 'spread' of English has little to do with a centre-outwards movement, often assumed by other writers on the subject: Brutt-Griffler writes in particular criticism of Phillipson (Brutt-Griffler 2002:26). Instead, the existence of different varieties is due either to the migration of English-speaking people, providing the so-called 'native speaker' varieties, or to what she calls 'macroacquisition': the learning or acquisition of English by people across the world, often in defiance of British imperialist edicts. Thus World English is as much about 'the linguistic counter-penetration of the new varieties found in Africa and Asia on mother tongue varieties' as it is about the reverse process (op. cit. page 178). This multi-centred account of the formation of different varieties of English is also to be found in Pennycook: 'multilingual communities appropriate forms of English that impinge from the globalising periphery. The metropolis does not spread its English to the periphery, the tropicopolitans (Aravamudan 1999) rearticulate English' (Pennycook 2002).

In this way, the 'linguicist' discourse (Phillipson 1992, Chapter 3) of the centre-periphery dichotomy is avoided: there cannot be any such thing as a high level

'standard' English or a corresponding low-level 'contact language' or 'lingua franca', because there cannot be a hierarchy of varieties when each variety, native speaker or otherwise, has developed in a similar way, a point made by Ahlu: 'the same productive processes are being manifested in the use of English everywhere despite the geographical spread of the English language today' - both NS and NNS are bending the language, creating new rules, in the same process (Ahlu 1997:19) and by Kandiah:

'transformations of linguistic and discursive structures (to create 'New Englishes') were, of course, necessary but were not 'interference' , 'simplification', 'error' 'deviation' 'deficiency' 'inadequate or failed acquisition or replication' 'interlanguage' etc – even if you forgive all these things under the blanket of calling the new language the expression of a speech community. Linguistic change does not come about because of these things, any more than Shakespeare's English arose out of deviation etc from Middle English (Kandiah 1998: 99).

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Brutt-Griffler is able to reach her conclusion largely because of her starting point or 'unit of analysis in linguistics'. She rejects the 'ideal native speaker in a homogeneous speech community', (into whose head grammar set up on standard linguistic evidence is stuffed – Yngve 1981:40) and takes instead the speech community itself as the place to study language change and development. The 'fixed code' theory of language is therefore rejected in favour of a process approach whereby varieties of English evolve within the communities that use them.

The theory seems to founder, however, at the last threshold. Having equitably accounted for the existence of different varieties of English without any hierarchical distinctions among them, Brutt-Griffler concludes by implying the existence of a 'world English speech community' into which speakers converge, despite the divergence of their different varieties. This would, naturally, provide a 'world' variety of English which could be studied and used for teaching purposes.

If World English, as a convergence of language varieties, depends on the existence of a World English speech community, that community seems either very elusive or to be a part of the rejected discourse of centre and periphery. Gnutzmann, for example, seems to consider the term 'speech community' too difficult to apply in multilingual situations (Gnutzmann 1998:133), while a whole spate of authors readily conflate the idea of a 'global community' with the discourse of the 'centre', the 'metropolis' rather than the 'tropicopolis'. Toolan describes a convergent Global English, as opposed to divergent varieties, as 'the language of international high-flyers' (Toolan 1997). Johnson, it will be remembered, insisted on International English belonging to a technologically advanced world and taught in 'modern' curricula' (Johnson 1990:305). Quirk and Honey, arguing together for Standard English, emphasise the fact that 'local' varieties are not good enough for those who 'want access to the world of technology of the industrialised west' (Quirk 1991a) or who need to process 'all forms of information required in a modernised society' (Honey 1991). McArthur identifies the users of World English as 'what one is constrained to call, for want of a better phrase, a Western-educated international élite', and brings the argument firmly back into the Standard English camp, by opining that 'what is shared worldwide, in fact, is not the language at large but a standard variety' (McArthur 1996:14). Bolton suggests that World English 'generally

refers to the idealised norms of an internationally propagated and internationally intelligible variety of the language, increasingly associated with American print and electronic media' (Bolton 2003:4) and, finally, Brutt-Griffler herself asserts that World English is tied to the business, technological and scientific community and cultural and intellectual life (Brutt-Griffler 2002: 110ff).

The coming together of different varieties of English to form a World English, the index of an identifiable World Speech Community which is exclusive, rather than inclusive is, like Standard English, both implausible and politically incorrect (see Pennycook 2002: 'The 'World Englishes' paradigm is, therefore and paradoxically, exclusionist, not inclusionist'). Brutt-Griffler seems to be attempting to use a traditional paradigm to account for something which it will not contain. As Rajagopalan suggests, World English 'defies our time-honoured view of language which is structured around the unargued assumption that every natural language is typically spoken by a community of native speakers' (Rajagopalan 2004:112).

It seems rather more logical to think of World Speech Communities in the plural, rather than to think of a unique World Community, and to think of them as 'fleeting' rather than fixed, in the same way that Wagner and Firth consider English as Lingua Franca talk to be fleeting in nature (Wagner and Firth, cited in House 1999:75), or 'always constituted anew in the ongoing talk', House's characterisation of the community of Lingua Franca English speakers (House 1999: 84 and 2002b:259).

In conclusion, World English, as proposed by Brutt-Griffler, may only be thought of as a variety in sociolinguistic terms. Unlike International English, it is inclusive of different nationalities, although exclusive in other ways, calling to mind Pennycook's critique of Kachru's circles which fail to capture the social hierarchies within them (Pennycook 2002). The trickiness of the World Community theory does

not preclude data such as that likely to emerge from this research from being part of World English: by extending the Lingua Franca tag to everyone, conversational data collected in international settings might be said to be typical of World English-Lingua Franca English and, therefore, of the *ad hoc* construction of world communities, rather than the reflection of a single, ready-made entity.

6. Global English

This term has been used loosely by many specialists and non-specialists to refer simply to the phenomenon under consideration and not to a real or potential variety of English. For Phillipson, for example, ‘Global English’, with its links to economic globalisation, is another way of referring to U.S. and U.K. norms and, as such, is thoroughly undesirable (Phillipson 2003).

Gnutzmann, although preferring the term ‘Global English’ to competing labels, clearly considers it to be the same thing as Lingua Franca English, dealt with above under ‘International English’ (Gnutzmann 1998:133) and Nair-Venugopal seems to share his view, suggesting that ‘the notion of a Global English may not in fact be tenable, for variation is at the very heart of the view of English as a global language’ (Nair-Venugopal 2003).

7. Conclusion

The idea that conversational data collected in international settings may be considered as a constituent of a variety of English seems to be a tenuous one. It cannot be thought of as forming part of Standard English since not all speakers will either have learned it (even if all have been taught it) or will recognise it as the norm

to which they should be accommodating. It certainly cannot be thought of as World Standard English, since such an entity does not exist (and is unlikely ever to do so) and it cannot really be included into International English, since some of the speakers will have been educated and socialised in English. World English is a possible contender as a label for the data, with the rider that it is a performance variety, unstable and not institutionalised, and that it therefore refers to the expression not of an existent community but of an infinite, ever-changing number of communities under construction.

Chapter Three

English as a Language

1. Introduction

The adjective+English paradigm may not be the most appropriate one when it comes to accounting for instances of spoken English being used across national and cultural boundaries. As was seen in the previous Chapter, in order to account for normal international use of English using any adjective+English model, either some kind of exclusion is required, as in the cases of Standard English and International English, or the concept of variety has to be stretched to a point where it ceases to have much of a meaning: World English is only viable as a variety if it is a performance variety, and if it is accepted that its speech community is forever under construction.

This thesis is centred on conversational data and seeks to help understand how English is used in international settings, compared to intranational ones. While participants in international conversations may indeed be constructing a World Community and, therefore, a World English, they are doing so, *ad hoc*, using what they already have, which is not Standard English and not International English. It therefore seems logical to investigate current views which reflect language use, rather than language varieties.

This Chapter will therefore focus on formulations which use the ‘English as’ label. It will start with a brief overview of historical instances of ‘English as....’ and then move on to examine the two prominent ‘English as...’ labels which seek to characterise the way English is currently used across the world. It will conclude by proposing and defining a fresh ‘English as....’ formula to be applied in the remaining chapters of the thesis.

2. EFL, ESL and ENL

English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and English as a Second Language (ESL) have been in common currency, at least in Britain and among British expatriates, for at least fifty years. ENL (English as a National Language) seems to be a more recent coinage, based on the model of the other two acronyms.

2.1. People, countries, role and function

A rigorously historical view would insist on using these labels to refer primarily to people learning English and only at a secondary stage to anything else. They might, with even more historical rigour, be combined with the verb ‘teach’ since the acronyms were put into circulation so that teachers could explain to lay people what exactly their profession involved and how it was distinguished from teaching English in the traditional sense of making schoolchildren more literate and more sensitive to literature. Both EFL and ESL are acronyms, then, which were invented for the benefit of native speakers teaching English either to foreigners or to people who already spoke another language and needed English in order to prosper in an English speaking environment. For the majority of teachers in the world, ‘teaching English’ was quite good enough: where there are no native-speaking children to be taught English in the making-literate and sensitising-to-literature sense, there is no need to invent a different term.

The important point is, then, that EFL and ESL are terms originally oriented towards teachers and learners. The ‘E’ in each case does not seem, historically, to have been in question: traditionally, it represented Standard English, encoded in prescriptive grammar books and canonical literature. It is not different in any way from the ‘E’ in ENL – English as a Native Language; only the learners and users are different.

Over time, however, the terms have become used to describe different communities, settings or countries: a specific community or country where most users have learned English as a foreign language becomes an 'EFL country'; another setting, community or country, where users of English have learned the language in order to prosper in a home-based English-speaking environment acquires the label 'ESL' country. (Nayar 1997, Trudgill and Hanna 1994:121, McArthur 1996:15).

Alongside this newer application of the EFL and ESL acronyms, there is the growing acceptance of them as referring to the role and function of English. Where English is a 'foreign' language, its role has to do with communicating beyond normal community boundaries, i.e. with foreigners and in particular with foreigners who are native speakers of English. Where it is a 'second language', on the contrary, its role may be internal: English may serve the purpose of communicating with co-nationals in particular settings, typically formal, official or institutional.

Whether having mostly to do with its learners and users or with its role and function, there is still no fundamental claim to be made about the 'E' itself which, when combined with SL or FL, is unlikely to be anything but the Standard variety. Chevillet, for example, points out that 'of course' an EFL teacher would not recommend to students to acquire a Nigerian or Indian accent (Chevillet 1993). While native speaker practitioners may continue to consider that they teach EFL or ESL, few learners will say that they are learning either, preferring to declare, more simply, that they are learning English. Non-native-speaker practitioners are unlikely to say they are teaching anything other than plain 'English'.

2.2 Confusion over EFL, ESL and ENL

While the three acronyms may have provided convenient shorthand for native speaker teachers, there is now considerable confusion in their use and application.

McArthur sums up the situation: “We live in a time when the classic divisions describing users of English are becoming ever harder to maintain. We all know the three categories native-users, second-language users, and foreign language users.

Once they were fairly clear: the first were born to English, the second had it thrust upon them in colonial times, and the third was everybody else who knew any English.

Now, however, they have very fuzzy edges” (McArthur 2003: 57).

The fuzziness is particularly evident where the acronyms are applied to countries rather than to language users and language learners. In South Africa, for example, there are many people who are considered to be speakers of ENL while for the majority, English has traditionally been thought of as a Second Language. Within that majority, there are nations which are monolingual and where English is taught for use as a foreign language (Brutt-Griffler 2002:146).

In India there are many families bringing up their children to be English speakers, creating new generations of speakers of ENL who are not immigrants or descendants of immigrants and who are living in what has traditionally been classified as an ESL country (Graddol 2004).

In Europe, Lesznyák cites Ammon and Witte to confirm that Hungary, traditionally considered an EFL country, is witnessing the nativisation of English, in much the same way that Gnutzmann suggests that the Netherlands and Scandinavian countries “are more adequately described as being on their way to gaining ESL-status.” (Gnutzmann 1998:133).

Graddol recognises that, given this confused and fluid situation, we need new concepts in order to recognise the current diversity of new learners and new cultures (Graddol 2004).

2.3. The supremacy of the Native Speaker

As well as their inadequacy to deal with the current situation of different English users, the three acronyms thinly veil the notion that ENL is superior to the other two. Stemming from Chomsky's basis for linguistic theory in the "ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community" (Chomsky 1965:3), the idea is born, that a real native speaker, monolingual member of a native-speaking community, is the basis for all judgements about what is and is not good, correct English.

In what Graddol describes as a Victorian approach to language and language varieties, monolinguals are 'normal', and, therefore, more worthy than anyone of supplying norms (Graddol 2004). 'Second' seems to lead to second-best and 'foreign' naturally means 'other'. Even Kachru's circles, intended to provide a fresh paradigm, dislodging the native speaker from his pedestal, have the traditional ENL countries at the centre and the EFL ones on the periphery.

The arguments against using these acronyms are, therefore, similar to those rehearsed in Chapter 2 above regarding the abandonment of Standard English as a framework within which to place this piece of research.

2.4 ENL, ESL, EFL - Conclusion

Given the intention in this research to focus on language use, rather than on the identification of a language variety or several language varieties, a label emphasising language use, such as ‘English as a.....’ seems to be appropriate. The traditionally available ‘English as...’ labels are, however, not appropriate at all, reflecting as they do values and practices which have disappeared, are disappearing or at the very least ought to disappear.

3. EIL and ELF

Two more recent ‘English as....’ labels are EIL – English as an International Language – and ELF – English as Lingua Franca. The two are often used interchangeably but will be dealt with separately here, at least in the first instance, in order to see if there are any differences between them. As with ENL, ESL and EFL, there is a primary emphasis on users and learners. Whereas, as has been seen, the native speaker was supreme in the old order, he or she remains a shadowy, even haunting presence in the new one. EIL and ELF also refer to the function and role of English, although the latter does so more strongly than the former, and, at variance with the older tradition, there seems to be the implication that the ‘E’ may now be different from the English taught as second or foreign language.

3.1. EIL

The haunting presence of the native speaker is there to distinguish EIL, which has been thought of as all-inclusive, from ELF, where there is a tendency to focus on non-native speakers.

One of the earliest instances of the term EIL comes in the work of Larry Smith, who might well be thought of as having invented it. Smith has no hesitation in including both native speakers and non-native speakers as potential students in his proposal for the teaching of EIL (Smith 1978)

Campbell et. al, are also all-inclusive, suggesting that EIL means what happens when 'speakers of more than one country or culture interact' (Campbell et. al. 1983: 36-37) and Knapp considers that EIL is 'very broad in its scope and only vaguely defined - virtually any use of English among speakers from different nations is so labelled' (Knapp 1987:1026). Similarly, Firth does not seem to differentiate between native and non-native users when he states that English as an international lingua franca is for 'different nationality groups' (Firth 1990:270)

Modiano, in a slightly less clear way, suggests that EIL is a 'general term' for English which functions well in cross-cultural communication, emphasising all users without distinction. His two circles (as opposed to Kachru's three) do not distinguish between native speakers and non-native, only between EIL-competent speakers and those who can use English only at a more local level (Modiano 1999a:25).

Jenkins, in her key work on phonology, uses the EIL label, but unlike Smith and Modiano, restricts her field to people learning English who are unlikely, or unmotivated to become fluent users. She calls these people 'NBES' – non-bilingual English speakers (Jenkins 2000b:10). Jenkins quite properly and justifiably rejects the term 'non-native speakers' to describe these people but the spectre of the native speaker is nevertheless called up by her deliberate exclusion of L1 (and fluent L2) users. Jenkins' research subjects are all people whom Kachru would have placed in his Expanding Circle, who do not share another language and who use English only to cross 'linguacultural boundaries'. Jenkins' use of the term EIL is, therefore, rather

limited whereas for the previous scholars it could quite properly be used to describe interactions between Australians and Americans, Ghanaians and Nigerians, English and Welsh.

In order to address this limitation, McKay suggests two sorts of EIL, 'local EIL' where English may be connected to local cultures, and 'global EIL' where it may not (McKay 2002: 12). Gnutzmann makes a similar point, that 'international' may mean just two nations (Gnutzmann 1988) and Chevillet points out that English is not an international language such as Spanish or Russian, but rather a 'world' language (Chevillet 1991).

3.2 ELF

The ELF acronym could be said to have a longer tradition than the EIL one, even though its use is more recent. This is because the term 'Lingua Franca' has been in more common use for longer than the term 'International Language' and, as such, has attracted more intellectual interest. Consequently, there seems to be, surrounding the term ELF, a more properly worked-out notion of what it stands for: its users and functions have been more clearly defined and investigations have been carried out into what its existence is based on.

3.2.1 ELF is built on the LF construct.

'Lingua franca' is a term which has been used historically to describe the function of a language as a way of bringing linguistically disparate people together. Samarin asserts that a 'lingua franca' can be considered such 'on the basis of function alone' and defines its users as 'people of different mother tongues for whom it is a second language'. 'Lingua Franca' does not refer to fixable or codifiable grammar,

vocabulary or phonology: 'Since lingua franca indicates an aspect of the use of any language, it suggests nothing about the structure of that language' (Samarin 1987:370). The official UNESCO definition of 'Lingua Franca' is a language being used 'in order to facilitate communication', by 'people whose mother tongues are different' (Barotchi 1994) and Ammon, discussing diplomatic encounters, suggests that the term lingua franca holds only where the language used is not the official language of any of the countries involved (Ammon 1994:1727).

Insistence on the primacy of function has not been without its critics. Knapp and Meierkord, for example, consider that the functional conceptualisation of lingua franca needs reviewing (Knapp and Meierkord 2002:10). Further, the term 'Lingua Franca' itself may often have negative connotations such as the pidginising tendencies of what were once thought of as 'backward' societies (see Hall 1976 and Zima 1977, cited in Meierkord 2002: 109-110). More recently, the term has been treated with distaste by Phillipson, who considers it to be part of a 'linguicist discourse', because it implies a myth of cultural neutrality and has a globalising, crusading image (Phillipson 1992: 55 and Chapter 3).

3.2.2. Users of ELF

As has been said, the discourse of EFL and ESL is far from absent in the newer acronyms: native speakers seem mostly to be included in EIL but are rejected by most people from ELF.

Firth describes ELF as a 'contact language' between persons for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication (Firth 1996:241). and House defines ELF interactions as those 'between members of two or more different linguacultures in English, for none of whom English is the mother tongue' (House1999:74). Seidlhofer

confirms that ELF is a system that serves as 'a language by means of which the members of different speech communities can communicate with each other but which is not the native language of either' (Seidlhofer 2001:146), but concedes that there are less pure forms of ELF, interactions in which may sometimes include native speakers (Seidlhofer 2004: 211).

Following the restrictive definition, Lesznyák studies only language produced in interactions between non-native users, having defined lingua franca as a language which is 'mother tongue to none of the participants' (Lesznyák 2002:166). She later defines ELF communication, in opposition to EFL communication, as being among 'NNS of English' (Lesznyák 2004:50).

Knapp is slightly less confident. He sets out, in his 'Case study of unco-operative lingua franca communication' by defining his participants as non-native speakers, interacting with each other in a language which is their 'second' one. As he moves on, however, he perceives that the speakers in his study have varying levels of proficiency and that some of them are 'near-native speakers', while some may have 'become' native speakers. He eventually concludes that, within the ambit of ELF, there are likely to be many encounters where 'real native speakers' interact with 'non-native' and 'near-native' speakers (Knapp 2002: 220-221).

3.2.3. ELF is a Function.

It has been noted (Section 3.2.1) that the term Lingua Franca has traditionally been applied to a language being used 'in order to facilitate communication'. Since all language use is concerned with communication, the emphasis here must be on the facilitation: the implication is surely that, whereas a community or national language

is used in an atmosphere where normal communication will be considered an obvious outcome, no such obviousness attends the use of a lingua franca.

ELF may therefore be said to describe the function of a collaborative attempt to achieve communication, despite the different backgrounds of the users. Knapp and Meierkord review research on how LF is ‘characterised by a striving to collaborate’: the focus is on accommodation and on strategies, rather than on language forms and pragmatics. (Knapp and Meierkord 2002:16). Meierkord extends the characterisation to style, noticing that analyses of LF interactions show a style characterised by ‘co-operation leading to successful communication rather than misunderstanding’ (Meierkord 2002: 120) and Lesznyák seems to put strategy and style together to suggest that ELF may be considered as a process of gaining common ground (Lesznyák 2002:165).

3.2.4 ELF and the concept of ‘common core’

For the process of ELF to take place, for cross-cultural speakers to be able to communicate with each other and gain common ground, there must be a basis on which they succeed in doing so. This basis has been referred to as the ‘Lingua Franca Core’ (Jenkins 2000b).

The idea of a ‘core’ within a language can be traced back to Samuel Johnson’s dictionary in the eighteenth century and the Oxford English Dictionary in the nineteenth. This dictionary-making tradition embodied two principles – the potential of dictionaries for ‘fixing’ the language and standardising it and the identification of a core (Bolton 2003:26).

Hockett used the term ‘common core’ to describe the most fundamental possible factor in explaining how people communicate in speech. The ‘common core’ of a

person's idiolect is the 'total set of features' shared with another person or other people thus making communication possible (Hockett 1958:336). It is this core, then, which provides the basis for accommodation and finding common ground.

Bex extends the notion from the personal, idiolectal domain, to the idea that a whole group of people ('native speakers' in Bex's paper), 'have an idea of a 'core' variety of English to which they can move (to a greater or lesser extent) in unfamiliar discourse situations' (Bex 1993: 257).

Preisler, too, takes up the 'core' theme, widening it out still further, and using it to describe ELF whose function is, in turn, a 'function of what speakers of English have in common' – the common 'core'. For Preisler, the 'core' stands for the 'structural and cultural properties of English shared by native speakers' (Preisler 1995:343).

With Jenkins comes the idea that the common core permitting EIL communication is not what is shared by native speakers, but rather what may be shared by the people Jenkins identifies as NBES (see above, Section 3.1)

When accommodation fails, when users of English find that they cannot find enough shared ground to communicate with each other, then they must resort to a common core, renouncing their own varieties or idiolectal forms and giving up on attempts at accommodation. Unlike native speakers, Jenkins' participants in EIL, all non-native users of English, do not have a ready made common core of phonological elements, so one needs to be contrived, based on sounds which are comprehensible to all (Jenkins 2000b: Chapter 3).

By suggesting that a core needs to be contrived, Jenkins provides a role for teaching EIL. Learners of English, and 'native speakers' who want to use English internationally, need to be trained in the contrived core in order to have something to

build on for their own idiosyncratic pronunciation, and to fall back on when an idiolectal variety fails.

Seidlhofer, in her apologia of Ogden and 'Basic English', seems to agree with Jenkins: rather than try to derive a core from 'natural' English, as Quirk attempted, she would rather prescribe a core, thus making a 'programmatic statement' (Seidlhofer 2002: 275-6). The core would, presumably, be based on results from her ELF database and go beyond the limits Jenkins imposed on herself by choosing to deal only with phonology.

3.2.5. ELF as a language variety

Despite the apparent clarity with which 'English as...' labels appear to refer exclusively to language use (and therefore to users), there is a tendency to use the term ELF to refer to a thoroughgoing language variety, on a par with the Englishes dealt with in the previous chapter. The tendency is not limited to ELF either: in a recent paper, Crystal finds himself referring to EFL as a 'native language' (Crystal 2001:56).

The tendency may stem from the search for, or establishment of a 'core', mentioned above, or may derive from the tradition of identifying a Lingua Franca as an autonomous language or variety. One of the key criteria for ascribing either full language or language variety status to a Lingua Franca is that of stability, discussed in Chapter 2. Knapp and Meierkord note that, where a Lingua Franca in the past has stabilised in specific plurilingual areas, it has become a variety (Knapp and Meierkord 2002: 9-10).

Seidlhofer, whose use of 'system' to describe ELF has already been mentioned, seems to suggest that ELF has indeed stabilised, or is at least stabilising, since she

makes mention of 'the international ELF speech community' which is developing its own language norms (Seidlhofer 2002:273). She wonders whether she will find 'commonly used constructions and sound patterns which are ungrammatical in Standard L1 English but generally unproblematic in ELF communication' (Seidlhofer 2000) and eventually wants to make ELF a 'feasible, acceptable and respected alternative to ENL' as a resource for teaching (Seidlhofer 2001:150) – when the ELF community provides the norms it has developed. The existence of an ELF community, similar to, but more limited than the World English community envisaged by Brutt-Griffler (See Chapter 2, Section 5), has been questioned by McKay, who is confident that there is no such thing as an EIL group (McKay 2002:29) and by House, who considers that any such community is constituted anew every time there is an international encounter (House 2002b:259).

Mauranen is more forthright in her use of the word 'variety' to describe ELF, but rather than attach the word to one community, she suggests that there are many ELF communities and therefore many varieties of the variety (Mauranen 2003:516). This view chimes with Gramkow Andersen's definition of ELF, where each combination of interactants negotiates its own variety (Gramkow Andersen 1993:108).

Mauranen's consideration of some ELF communities as 'fairly-well established' resonates with the stability criterion. Interestingly, Mauranen begins her paper by using the word 'established' to describe 'Native' or 'World' varieties in opposition to ELF ones. Her claim that ELF is a variety seems to rest on the idea that, following Jenkins, there is an ELF 'core' which, she thinks, it is reasonable to suppose will be different from a Native Speaker one, and also on the stabilising theory: advanced learners of English use, for example, structural simplification as a strategy to help facilitate communication; continued use leads to the establishment of simplified

structures as part of the ELF core (Mauranen 2003: 515). As with Jenkins and Seidlhofer, Mauranen is interested in setting proper targets for learners of English. The difference is that she favours different norms for different ELF discourse communities, rather than one international set of norms.

Promodrou is sceptical about Seidlhofer's project. He does not mention Mauranen's, but his critique might just as easily apply. He considers it unlikely, firstly that learners from diverse European backgrounds will display the same common core features, even where they are supposed to be part of the same ELF discourse community, and, secondly, that they will display the same degree of simplification when communicating in ELF. He therefore considers it implausible that ELF will, even eventually, have endonormative standards, arguing that it is not, and will never be, an indigenized variety reflecting the identity of a community (Promodrou, forthcoming a).

A more convincing argument, perhaps, leads back to the conclusion of Chapter 2 and the acceptance of World English as a performance variety. It is the one put forward by Meierkord and Knapp who feel that 'English as a lingua franca is a variety in its own right' because of a number of common strategic characteristics (Knapp and Meierkord 2002:19). There is a risk, however, that this claim may serve merely to make matters more complicated than ever. If ELF is considered a variety in its own right on the strength of strategies, then to which variety are people using who do not use the same strategies but who nevertheless attempt to communicate across linguacultural boundaries? In other words, is a strategy-determined ELF the only variety used in Lingua Franca settings? Or does the setting determine, in the end, that what is happening is the use of a Lingua Franca?

4. EWL – English as a World Language

Although the EIL and ELF formulae are more satisfactory than ‘Adjective + English’ ones when attempting to account for the kind of data this thesis is interested in, there are nevertheless two problems. As has been seen, the problem of exclusivity is not solved since ELF does not include native speakers and, at least for Jenkins, EIL is based on the Lingua Franca core: whereas the terms have arisen partly because of the myth of native speaker supremacy, the native speaker construct still informs the thinking behind them.

Secondly, there is a risk that EIL and ELF will represent attempts to find a new variety of English. Leaving aside the somewhat dubious category of ‘performance variety’, it seems quite clear that no such variety is likely to emerge. The use of the two acronyms may nevertheless prove confusing in this respect.

That said, the function approach to ELF seems to be a fruitful one in terms of accounting for what happens when people use English across linguacultural boundaries, resting as it does on the notion of a ‘common core’ which all users draw on.

In order to mark out this thesis from the work so far referred to, it is therefore proposed to employ the under-used acronym EWL – standing for English as a World Language. This term stands in the useful set of ‘English as....’ formulae but, given its relative lack of use, does not carry with it the exclusivity of those dealt with so far. EWL will now be critically defined in terms of the people it includes. Following that EWL will be considered in terms of its functions and how its users might perform them; arguments will also be further rehearsed for not considering EWL a variety of English.

4.1. EWL Users

The reasons given or implied for excluding groups of people from EIL and, more particularly, ELF seem to have to do, eventually, with language learning. In order to provide learners with realistic, politically correct targets, native speaker models, or 'ESL' models, are thought to be inappropriate. While this may be true, almost obviously true, if by 'native speaker models' the kind of interaction is intended whereby natives of Birmingham (either in the West Midlands, UK, or in Alabama, USA), Bombay or Mombasa speak or write in English to other natives of those towns. But where native speakers are part of an international or intercultural discourse, the logic is not quite so strong for at least two reasons. The first has to do with clarifying who native speakers are, in an ever more globalised, fluid world and the second, connected reason has to do with the weight of numbers.

4.1.1. Difficulties defining 'native-speakers'

Davies, in his key work on the native speaker, provides a list of defining characteristics, one of which is 'the unique capacity to produce fluent, spontaneous discourse' (Davies 1991a:150). He goes on to gloss this assertion by stating that 'The native speaker is also expected to exhibit normal control especially in fluent connected speech' (op. cit. 164). It seems clear that, by 'control' Davies means communicative competence, or knowledge *how*: in a previous article he makes the connection between the two terms explicit (Davies 1989).

It ought, therefore, to be possible to monitor the speech of a random selection of users of English and to determine who among them are native speakers simply by paying attention to their 'capacity to produce fluent, spontaneous discourse', their 'normal control'.

Plainly, however, this endeavour would not be likely to succeed for at least three reasons.

i.) Firstly, since proficiency is measurable on a cline, rather than in a digitalised, polar way, it is very difficult to determine at which point along the cline non-native speaker proficiency becomes native-speaker proficiency (Or, using Davies' term, at which point a speaker's control could be said to be 'normal') (McNamara 1996). Some formal proficiency tests, for example, the Cambridge ESOL Certificate of Proficiency in English, once gave 'near native-speaker proficiency' as a yardstick against which to measure the performance of top-rated learners of English but it was not clear where the line had to be drawn between these and those just under them.

ii.) Secondly, 'normal control in fluent speech', unless limited to monologues delivered into a void, supposes interaction with other speakers. The extent to which, therefore, a speaker can be said to exercise 'normal control' and to be a fluent communicator, may only be judged by how effectively he or she conveys the intended message, which clearly also depends on the ability of the hearer to make sense of what is heard (Deen 1997: 15).

iii.) Thirdly, the capacity to produce fluent, spontaneous discourse can only be guessed at by attending to actual instances of speech, which are likely to be of different quality when delivered by the same speaker in different contexts. Deen, reviewing the work of Spitzberg and Cupach (1984), points out that 'an individual's competence can only be measured through his performance in a certain context. This performance may vary from context to context and thus it cannot be objectively determined for the individual' (Deen 1997:14-15).

It is clearly not possible to define native speakers by their performance. Kachru and Nelson succinctly conclude that 'being labelled a native speaker is of no particular a

priori significance, in terms of measuring facility with the language' (Kachru and Nelson, 2001:14).

Perhaps competence is a more reliable marker of the native speaker: Coppieters certainly seems to think so. Having, he claims, identified a group of non-native speaker informants whose English had become the functional equivalent of a mother tongue (presumably they had the capacity to produce fluent, spontaneous discourse) he shows that they lacked native-speaker competence, intuitions about what Davies might have called their 'personal English grammar' (Davies 1991a:150) and any differences between this and 'the shared grammar of their English-speaking community' (Coppieters:1986). The problem, however, is that Coppieters *first* identified his informants as 'non-native speakers' and *then* conducted his investigation into their competence. This begs a number of questions: how did Coppieters know that his informants were non-native speakers? If he had first investigated competence and then deduced the native or non-native status of his informants from an analysis of this, would the results have been the same? How significant was his sample of native speakers providing the reference point for showing native-speaker competence? These questions are important, particularly as Coppieter's findings have been cited in defence of using native speakers to teach English in preference to non-native speakers (Quirk 1991b).

Coppieters seems to think that his 'near-native speakers' will never achieve native-speaker competence. Davies (op.cit.) is slightly more generous, limiting himself to wondering whether "second language speakers have access to a second language langue" and, if they do, whether it is "the same langue as the langue of first language speakers?" (Davies 1991a: 19) but nevertheless opining that there is no reason why

they should not have this access or why it should not be 'the same langue' (op.cit.:150).

Using language performance as a measure of whether or not someone is a native speaker turns out to be a dead end; using competence seems to require the pre-identification of native speakers. A sociological definition might therefore, be more useful. Several writers have affirmed that to be a native speaker means to be part of a social, rather than a linguistic system (see, for example, Coulmas 1981:18, Mey 1981:76) and several others have implied as much by saying that native languages are social constructs rather than objectively distinguishable linguistic realities (Corder 1973, cited in Pennycook 1994:27, Annamalai 1998: 149-150).

The most straightforward way of defining native speakers in sociological terms is by seeing them as a group of people who were born into an English-speaking environment or who at least learned English in early childhood. This 'folk wisdom' view of the native speaker is supported, among others, by Davies, who gives early childhood acquisition as one of the characteristics of native speakers, by Prabhu and by Mufwene (Davies 1991a:150, Prabhu 1998, Mufwene 1998:111). The situation is, however, far from clear cut in all cases, as Medgyes points out:

Let us take Juan, for example, aged 9, who has been living in the United States for five years. His father is a Mexican immigrant, his mother comes from Norway. They both speak to Juan in their own mother tongue. Which is his native language, English, Spanish, or Norwegian? All three of them? None of them? (Medgyes 1992:341)

Similarly, Leung, Harris and Rampton show up the inconsistencies with the term 'native speaker' because of Creoles, language switching and bilingualism and assert that a simple 'category' approach to defining the native speaker does not work. (Leung, Harris and Rampton 1997)

While it may not be possible to define native speakers by the circumstances of their birth or early childhood, it seems nevertheless to be accepted, for better or for worse, that the term still has to do with social groupings. Without the 'birthright' criterion, three possible social definitions of native speaker remain.

i.) The first of these definitions may, after Bloomfield, be termed the 'tribal' definition (Bloomfield 1933). Bloomfield suggests that tribal attitudes are gradually built up as the result of people with similar languages coming together and agreeing on rules and regulations which, eventually, make up a 'native language', allowing its users to call themselves 'native speakers' of that language (see Bartsch 1988, cited in Davies 1991a:125). Speakers then agree to surrender their individual linguistic identities, modifying their own languages to create the new social reality of the native-speaking group, with which they now identify.

The group finds it shares critical attitudes about language and its use, or rather about the way people use language; these attitudes include the norm of excluding those who do not 'surrender'. These attitudes and norms have to do not only with the grammar and vocabulary of the created language, but also with accent, registers, pragmatic forms and conversational styles (Davies 1991a:123).

The problem would appear to be the application of the term 'English', coupled with 'native-speaker', to whatever is spoken by these 'tribes'. There may well be communities (or tribes) whose members refer to themselves as 'native speakers of English' who are nevertheless incomprehensible to other 'native speakers of English'

and whose use of the term 'native speakers' applied to themselves may be questioned by others. Canagarajah, for example, points out that members of postcolonial communities would consider themselves native speakers of indigenised variants of English (Canagarajah 1999a). But learners and teachers of English seem to contest this, as Amin's experience attests: her learners were convinced that she could not be a native speaker because of her skin colour; her colleagues were equally shocked at her claim to be, in a language-acquisition-and-competence sense, 'one of them' (Amin 1999).

Kandiah reports a chilling episode where a teacher considering himself to be a native speaker was refused a post because his prospective employers were dubious about his ethnicity and changed the relevant job advertisement so that it included the word 'Caucasian', lest there should be any doubt about who is or is not a 'native speaker' (Kandiah 1998).

This leads logically to the second social definition which may be termed the 'ideological' definition.

ii.)

Skin-colour-based racism apart, one of the reasons for some people being rejected as native speakers of English, or, indeed, for their refusal to consider themselves as such, has to do with the obvious connection between 'native' and 'nation' and, therefore, in this case, between 'English' and 'England'. Blank shows that language and national identity were associated as early as 1414 when 'English representatives at the European Council of Constance cited the "difference of language" as one "by which divine and human law is the greatest and most authentic mark of a nation and the essence of it"' (Aston, 1968: 41, quoted by Blank 1996: 1). The creation of a standard tongue, under the auspices of King James 1st of England, and associated with the

construction of nationhood led, in succeeding centuries to a strong sense that native speakers were those people, presumably the majority living within England, who identified with the English nation and considered themselves users of the national language. It is a curiosity that the standard tongue is called 'English' rather than 'British', given that the constructed nation resulted from the union of Scotland to England and Wales.

The importance of nationhood and the national tongue in the construction of colonialism and imperialism is underlined by Pennycook who refers to those leaving England to settle in North America and, later, in the dominions of South Africa, Australia and New Zealand as having taken with them, in the first instance, a strong sense of Englishness (Pennycook 1994); the notion that the language widely spoken in the latter three countries is anything but English has only recently been contested with the publication of Australian English, New Zealand English and South African English word books. The case of North America is slightly different, for obvious reasons. After the War of Independence, the national language of the United States was constructed as the badge of the new nation and a new set of native speakers (of English, perhaps again curiously, rather than of 'American') came into being.

Native speakers may thus be identified as those who identify with the nations that have created national English languages, starting with England. As a mark of nationhood, native-speakerness must, perforce, imply monolingualism: according to the ideology which created the notion of Standard English and, therefore, native speakers, it is not possible to identify with more than one nation or more than one culture at a time (Annamalai 1998:152).

The 'ideological definition' therefore excludes those such as Amin (see above): if a distinction is to be drawn, it is not between those who have joined a speech

community and those who have not, but between those who have conjoined nativity and speech habits, who have 'bought' the national line in one way or another and those who have not. In order to become a native speaker, then, or in order to acquire nativity, one has also to accept, and be accepted into, the national cultures of the traditional monolingual English-speaking nations and then to believe in the whole complex creation. U.N. Singh (1998) calls it 'a club which people may try to gatecrash' but a club which, importantly, expands its membership with colonialism, imperialism, industrialism and commercialism (Singh 1998).

iii.) Singh seems to have been referring to those people, not necessarily of English (or British, American, South African, Australian, New Zealand) origin who became native speakers by espousing a theoretically alien culture. These may have been people holding or seeking positions of power in colonies or the British Empire or, more recently, those holding or seeking positions of power in international, 'Western' industrial and commercial companies. The group may also include those who feel a strong affinity for English or who have decided to assimilate into a traditionally native-speaking community (Rampton 1990).

Florian Coulmas, in his editor's introduction, dedicates the work to 'those who made me a native speaker', thereby presumably declaring his strong affinity with one of the national cultures traditionally associated with native speakers or the international culture represented by English (Coulmas 1981). Connor becomes a native speaker writer of English by giving up her Finnish culture as she seeks to assimilate into American academic society (Connor 1999).

Thus, through a process of 'imagined nativity', serving to 'keep the other [i.e. the non-native speaker] excluded from the self on ideological grounds' or simply through a process of 'self-ascription', anyone can, potentially, become a native speaker, can

'gatecrash the club', with the obvious rider that he or she must be accepted as such by the other, longer-established members (Annamalai 1998:151, Davies 1991a:8, Kramsch 1998:19).

Sociological definitions of the native speaker are, then, fraught with problems: each definition seems either to leave some obvious candidates out, or to include some obvious non-candidates.

4.1.2. Native speakers are a significant minority

Although native speaker may be hard to define, an approximative use of the word has allowed many to create statistics showing the relative numbers of native speakers of English compared to non-native speakers of English. Perhaps most notably, and certainly very influentially, Graddol has estimated that the number of native speakers of English is currently the same as the number of ESL speakers but that the number of EFL users is the same as both numbers combined, putting native speakers into a clear numerical minority compared to the overall number of English users. He predicts that, in the future, the proportion of native speakers to the overall number of English users will be even smaller (Graddol 1997).

The fact of this minority has been used by those wishing to describe ELF as a non-native speaker phenomenon and as a possible reason for excluding native speakers from their ELF data (most of the contributors to Knapp and Meierkord, 2002).

The minority constituted by native speakers is, however, a very large one. Graddol's figures suggest that the number is currently around four hundred million (and Graddol, for whatever reason, excludes most African or Indian native speakers, including them in his 'L2' category). While many, even most of these native speakers may never use English cross-culturally, it may still be supposed that a significant

number of them do: foreign travel, international business, educational exchanges, for example, are as much a part of the life of many native speakers as they are of non-native speakers. It is therefore obvious that significant numbers of native speakers participate in cross-cultural conversations in English.

Furthermore, the number might easily grow. The existence of people such as Coulmas and Connor, who think of themselves as having become native speakers, has already been indicated. Those whom Gnutzmann has identified as shifting from being EFL users to ESL users may also think of themselves one day, or be thought of, as native speakers, again, swelling the numbers.

4.1.3. Four case studies

Akin to the fictional case of 'Juan' cited above, some real participants in the conversations constituting the data for this thesis should serve to confirm both points about EWL users.

a) Two women of Nigerian nationality describe themselves as native speakers, having spoken English from birth, in their families, including to their grandparents, and having learned another language only patchily. That other language is Yoruba and is identified by the women as 'their' language. In other words, the language they identify with is spoken with considerably less fluency than English. This seems to be a clear case for applying Rampton et. al.'s distinction between 'inheritance' (Yoruba, in this case) and 'expertise' (English), rather than keeping to the 'native-speaker' category (Rampton 1990). Other Africans in my study questioned the right of the two women to call themselves native speakers, arguing that this represented a travesty of their roots (Appendix K, D1 and D7).

b) A woman born and brought up in the United Kingdom, speaking English from birth and unable to speak any other language, is reticent to call herself a native speaker because she considers 'her' language to be the language of her parents and ancestors, which is not English. (Appendix K, D3).

c) Several people born in Nigeria describe themselves as non-native speakers but have used English since early childhood for all purposes, including communication within their homes. (Appendix K, D1)

d) An Amharic- and English- using man considered that he would not be a suitable participant in the data-collection exercise because he had lived for a long time in the United States and was therefore more of a native-speaker than a non-native speaker. He had lived in the U.S.A. for four years.

People of this sort are becoming more typical by the day; they are part of a growing majority of users of English who cannot easily be classified as either 'native speakers' or 'non-native speakers'. Knapp appears to have come to a similar conclusion when collecting ELF data: he found that many of the participants in so-called ELF interactions were on the edge, as it were, neither 'true' native speakers, nor non-native speakers; some participants had 'become native speakers'. For convenience, Knapp refers to these people under the term 'near-nativeness'. He also makes the point that there are many international gatherings where English is used as a non-native language by many participants but where also 'true' native speakers are present (Knapp 2002: 220-221).

Either way, then, whether the term 'native speaker' should be consigned to history as meaningless in today's world or, conversely, should be retained and applied to swathes of new 'club members', there seems to be no reason to exclude vast numbers

of people from the study of English as it is used in international and intercultural settings.

4.2. EWL as a function

Following the research into ELF, it seems logical to consider EWL as a function, to focus on the use made of English, by whomever and in whatever form, in order to facilitate communication on a world scale. In this way, the overall research question posed in this thesis may now be refined, or broken down into more specific sub-questions.

Traditionally, cross-cultural spoken interactions have been studied by looking at the way non-native speakers interact with native speakers (Varonis and Gass 1985, Zuengler 1991, Deen 1997). Many recent studies have instead focused on ELF interactions, among non-native speakers only (Tarone and Yule 1987, Meeuwis 1994, Firth 1996, House 1999 and 2002b, Meierkord 2000). Lesznyák has provided a study where the two sorts of interaction are contrasted with each other (Lesznyák 2004). In most of these studies, the focus is on interactants' strategies and styles, in other words on the way they make their language resources function.

The purpose of this thesis is to follow in those traditions, with the difference that the terms of comparison are to be shifted away from the NS-NNS dichotomy. Instead, a comparison will be drawn between the way people make language function in international settings and the way they use their language resources when interacting with co-nationals. Thus EWL is seen firmly as a function of English and any patterns emerging will be performance patterns having to do with interactants' strategies and styles.

It may well be that EWL is characterised by collaboration and co-operativeness, just as ELF has been (See above, Section 3.2.3.). But whereas this behaviour has been identified by comparing ELF interactions with those between native speakers and non-native speakers, it may be that, by including native speakers in EWL and comparing this with English used in more homogeneous settings, no such characterisation is possible. It is equally possible that all users of English become more collaborative and co-operative in international settings than they are when interacting with their co-nationals, or that their level of comity is the same, whatever the situation.

4.3 EWL and the variety and 'core' questions

It has already been made clear that there can be no intention here of seeking to identify an EWL variety. The very choice of an 'English as...' label was motivated, in part, by the futility of that exercise. The loophole by which a claim might be made for a performance variety will not be explored for reasons given above (Section 3.2.5).

The less futile route, that of looking for a 'core' might seem more appealing except for two prominent objections. The first of these is a practical one: this thesis is limited in its length and scope by the parameters laid down by the University of Nottingham and by the extent of data it has been possible to collect. Conversational data amounting to 50,000 words, the backbone of this thesis, cannot compete with the corpus under construction by Seidlhofer and could therefore not be relied on to yield weighty information regarding what is or is not a 'core' item.

The second objection is more theoretical but has practical implications similar to those posed by the first objection. Having decided to include all language users in the

research project, there can clearly be no question of isolating an ELF core which is different from an ENL one. An interesting question might be the extent to which each language user exploits his or her idiolectal core for international purposes or, following Bex, his or her 'national' core. While it should be possible to identify differences between the way individuals use English in homogeneous and international settings, a much larger set of data would be required in order to match these differences to 'cores'.

5. Conclusion

This Chapter has completed the preliminary study of research in the area of the international use of English by rejecting the two most frequently used formulae for its definition. By insisting on exclusivity, the EIL and ELF labels have been seen to be inadequate as frameworks within which to place the current research. Instead, a new framework has been suggested, using the acronym EWL for English as a World Language. By showing why it is impossible to exclude native speakers from the EWL scene it is hoped that a firm basis has been established for moving ahead and describing how spoken English functions internationally. The next Chapter will therefore attempt to anticipate matters, using previous research results to predict what in fact may happen, and so to refine the research question still further.

Chapter Four

Hypotheses concerning EWL interactions

1. Introduction

Having concluded in the preceding two chapters that the object of this study is best characterised under the EWL heading, the thesis will now focus on existing literature and research results which might indicate how EWL is likely to be characterised. It must be borne in mind that, within the parameters set out for the present project, little or no previous research has been conducted: what data has been gathered has been either ‘EFL’ in nature – native speakers interacting with non-native – or ‘ELF’ – non-native speakers interacting with each other. Hypotheses concerning EWL must therefore be drawn from these two areas, rather than from more specific preceding research.

This chapter will therefore begin by examining reported ‘EFL’ interactions and relevant literature concerning what may or may not happen when an EWL conversation includes native speakers. This kind of interaction has often been characterised as asymmetrical, with native speakers being considered (or considering themselves) as the owners of, and authorities over English, thereby making non-native speakers accommodate to them. At the same time, accommodation going in the opposite direction has been characterised by Foreigner Talk, thought of as patronising, even humiliating.

The second part of this chapter will deal with ‘ELF’ interactions and examine the notion that these are somehow symmetrical in nature. While the use of English in settings where all users are non-native speakers, with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, may lead to communication difficulties, growing research results suggest that the potential for this is largely overcome by co-operative and collaborative attitudes and universal mechanisms for accommodation. Finally, brief

mention will be made of how language forms may develop in this kind of setting, whether as a result of ‘pooling dialects’ or agreeing on a ‘core’.

2. EWL ‘asymmetrical’ conversations

In Chapter 3, an attempt was made to deconstruct ‘native speaker’ in order to justify including all users of English in this research. The point was also made, however, that the native speaker myth continues to pervade the whole area of EWL. As Kandiah conclusively argues, the native speaker is not dead (Kandiah 1998:90). Having decided not to exclude native speakers from EWL, it is important to take stock of their presumed position in it and of the difficulties traced in the literature.

A common assumption has it that when a conversation takes place in English in which one or more of the participants is a native speaker, the conversation is asymmetrical (Ammon 1994:1727, Annamalai 1998: 149-150).

The lack of symmetry arises because of the presumed centrality of the native speaker in the construction of Standard English and the entailed perception of the native speaker’s exclusive ownership of, and authority over English. This in turn leads, according to much of the literature, to non-native speakers having to accommodate to native speakers and to a potential loss of confidence as a result. The situation may be exacerbated by native speakers’ attempts to accommodate to non-native speakers via Foreigner Talk.

2.1. *The centrality of the native speaker*

It was pointed out in Chapter 2 that, until very recently at least, most learners of English, whether learning within an English-speaking environment in an ‘ESL country’ or in traditional ‘EFL’ settings, have, at one stage, or even at most stages, been greatly exposed to ‘Standard English’ and to the cultures of the two main ENL countries. Stereotypical scenes involving a Mr. and Mrs. Smith drinking tea on the lawn have been used in order to present Standard British English grammar and vocabulary and, at a successive stage, along with the fashion of teaching ‘functions’, learners have been introduced to language-behavioural norms appropriate to British or American middle classes (e.g. Eckersley 1959, Abbs & Freebairn 1979, Gairns & Redman 1996).

Given the ubiquity of British and American models of language and behaviour in teaching materials, it is hard to counter complaints about linguistic and cultural imperialism. Further, given the ubiquity of the native-speaker myth, people learning English will traditionally see themselves as non-native speakers and, therefore, as not belonging to the social group representing the target of their learning. Davies highlights the problems faced by ‘foreign’ speakers of English when they ‘wish to identify with the community which they regard as defined in terms of target native speakerness’; the problems have to do with acceptance, not with (language) knowledge (Davies 1991:69).

For some, the problem continues beyond non-acceptance and becomes one of effective disempowerment. Annamalai asserts that “the social construct of native language is to sustain an asymmetrical power relation through the ideology of otherness. It ensures that some speakers of a language are defined (.....) as others in

contrast with the self'. Annamalai emphasises the individual, local and national levels of this ideology (Annamalai 1998: 149-150).

The difference in levels of power may be analysed in terms of the conflation of native speakers with 'Standard English'. The overlapping of the two constructs was dealt with in Chapter 2 (Section 2.3) and the perception of disempowerment resulting from it has led to pleas to districate one from the other. Wong called for 'non-native Englishes' to cease to be referred to as 'non-standard', (Wong 1982:263ff) and Ahulu reiterates the request, calling for the concept of Standard English to recognise and accommodate the 'developments being described as New Englishes' (Ahulu 1997:19).

The fact that, as Chapter Two attempted to show, there is no logical connection at all between the two terms - indeed, it is difficult to find logical support for either term, let alone a connection between the two - does not affect perceptions of connectedness which therefore confer power upon 'native speakers' to the detriment of 'non-native speakers'. Nair-Venugopal sums the situation up thus: "The suggestion is that 'native speakers' are in a position to wield power where cultural hegemony can be exerted as linguistic hegemony by using a standard dialect or a native-speaker variety" (Nair-Venugopal 2003:40).

2.1.1 Ownership

Given the historical and actual connectedness between Standard English and native speakers, these have traditionally been considered to be the 'owners' of English. Kandiah considers that the notion of proprietorship appears to 'be built centrally into the term' (Kandiah 1998: 82-3) and Modiano's critique of Kachru's three-circle model points out that the presence of 'England and its former colonies' in the 'inner

circle' means that the inhabitants of these countries possess the language (Modiano1999a: 23). Modiano's use of 'former colonies' seems a little misleading here since English users in Britain's former colonies, where they fit into Kachru's circles, seem to be in the outer circle, the only former colonials in the 'inner circle' being Americans. Samimy and Brutt-Griffler note that a 'non-native speaker' candidate for an English-medium MA in TESOL felt subservient to native speakers since he considered his British and American colleagues to be the owners of the language (Samimy and Brutt-Griffler 1999:139).

Ownership includes the right, or the power to be able to use language resources unavailable to the dispossessed and to be a partner in the process of language change, from which non-native speakers are excluded. The question of which language items are available to native speakers only is discussed by Janicki, who cites Marton and Preston's personal possession hypothesis (Janicki 1985:13, citing Marton and Preston 1975), while Kandiah points out that language change has always been the preserve of native speakers. He makes his case by comparing on the one hand the way New Varieties of English (NVEs) are described by inner circle linguists using such terms as 'interference', 'simplification', 'error', 'deviation' and 'deficiency', with, on the other, the way that Shakespeare's English is derived from Middle English. Whereas NVE language change seems to be about deviation, native speaker language change is a straightforward, linear process (Kandiah 1998:99). Ironically, perhaps, native speakers have also traditionally been accorded the right to include 'borrowed' words from other languages, including languages spoken by bilingual users of NVEs. When users of NVEs include words from other languages, this is generally considered to be a case of 'interference', rather than 'borrowing'.

Just as many voices have been raised calling for Standard English to encompass non-native speakers, there have, since the early 1990s, been voices contesting native speaker ownership of English. Many of these protestations come from among native speakers themselves (e.g. Smith 1991, Bryan 1994, McArthur 1996:4) while others spring from the disempowered non-native speakers (e.g. Braine 1999).

Higgins attempts to prove objectively that non-native speakers are indeed owners of English: she uses Conversation Analysis procedures on a set of conversations about the correctness or otherwise of a range of sentences and finds that her participants, from India, Africa, as well as from the United States, refer confidently to their own use of English when correcting or confirming the correctness of English usage. She does however concede that, when in the company of native speakers, her informants might have a less confident approach and accept the authority of the 'owners' (Higgins 2002).

2.1.2 Authority

Ownership obviously entails authority. Native speakers have traditionally been accorded the authority to decide what the language norms are and what constitutes an error. Davies confirms, or perhaps opines that 'a foreign language speaker cannot be appealed to for authoritative pronouncements about the language's rules and its use. First language speakers of course can be;' (Davies 1991a: 23) and Kachru sees the 'inner circle' as norm providing (Kachru 1985:17, Kachru and Nelson 2001:15). This is not to deny, of course, that some of the most eminent compilers of English grammars have been non-native speakers. From Jespersen to Svartvik, there is a long line of authoritative, non-native grammarians. While exercising their authority to codify English, however, their sources have always been the language of native

speakers: their job has been to find instances of what native speakers say, never to provide instances themselves (Jespersen 1933, Leech & Svartvik 1994).

There is considerable evidence to confirm the authority conferred upon native speakers as sources of what is acceptable English. Ventola and Mauranen examine the 'native revising' of non-native writing (Ventola and Mauranen 1991) and Connor enlists the help of native speakers to make her writing more 'appropriate' (Connor:1999). Many research projects have examined non-native speakers' 'mistakes', or learner English, by measuring the performance of these against native-speaker performance or, more contentiously, by directly asking native speakers which mistakes they felt were tolerable and which not (Hultfors 1987, Norrell 1991, Lorenz 1998). As with the conflation of native speaker with Standard English and the question of native speaker ownership of English, the idea that native speakers have exclusive authority over English language matters has been hotly contested. Widdowson, for example argues strongly against accepting the authority of native speakers when it comes to pronouncements regarding Standard English (Widdowson 1994) and Graddol argues that authority will shift from native speakers as the realisation sets in that they constitute a minority of users of English. (Graddol 1997:3). The weight of evidence at present, however, shows that native speaker authority is largely unquestioned beyond the protestations of applied linguists.

2.1.3 Learner preferences, teacher predilections

Given that ownership of and therefore authority over English is seen as a native speaker prerogative, it follows that people in what Kachru calls the outer circle and the expanding circle should look to native speakers, in the inner circle, for their norms. (Kachru and Nelson 2001). Several pieces of research have shown, for

example, that learners and teachers of English prefer native-speaker accents to non-native speaker ones.

Mazzon reports research carried out in the 1980s on how acceptable local English accents might be to those studying the language. Whereas students in India seemed to accept local models, Thai students and students in Singapore were all in favour of British models, finding the British standard 'more pleasant' and 'more correct' (Mazzon 2000:83).

In the 1990s, Chiba et. al. found that Japanese respondents were more positive about native speaker accents than they were about non-native speaker ones, ranking UK accents as most acceptable, followed by USA. Hong Kong, Sri Lankan and Malaysian accents were given low ratings (Chiba et. al. 1995). Similar research conducted in Austria found that non-native speaker accents were accorded low status and that preference was given to native-speaker accents (Dalton-Puffer et.al. 1997). Recent research carried out by Hannam suggests that teachers in Greece reject Greek- accented English in favour of native-speaker accents (Hannam 2005).

This widely felt preference is reflected in a similarly widespread preference for native-speaker teachers. At the beginning of the 1990s, Quirk opined that native-speaker teachers of English were required since they are the ones with intuitions about the language (Quirk 1991b); his opinion is not supported by research done among staff at a Hong Kong educational institutions, who thought that non-native speaker teachers had a better command of the grammar than native speakers but who nevertheless found native speakers to be superior with respect to communicative aspects of English (Norton 1997).

Research in the USA, in the UK and in the Basque Country has all found that learners prefer native-speaker teachers to non-native ones (Lippi-Green 1997:124; McKay 1995; Amin 1999; Timmis 2002, Lasagabaster and Sierra 2002; Abe 2004).

According to the results of a striking piece of research reported by Lippi-Green, students actual performance seems to be negatively affected if they perceive their teacher to be a non-native speaker instead of a native speaker (Lippi-Green 1997: 127).

2.2 *NNS and NS in EWL interactions*

2.2.1 Accommodation

The comparative power of the native speaker may have an incisive influence on the nature of cross-cultural communication. Lesznyák refers to several studies which have concluded that native speakers tend to dominate in cross-cultural interactions and her own study seems to confirm the tendency (Lesznyák 2004:76 and 229). Where native speakers are present: non-native speakers may, given a sense of inferiority, try to accommodate to native speakers. They may fail in their attempts and eventually lose their confidence.

Accommodation theory was used to some extent in the 1980s and early 1990s to explain why cross-cultural conversations involving native speakers are likely to be different from those involving only non-native speakers (Gallois et.al 1988). According to Janicki, native speakers' attitude will define the behavioural norms of conversational interaction, thus restricting any negotiation among non-native speakers. (Janicki 1985:14-5).

Not only behavioural norms but linguistic norms are also, it seems, set by native speakers in this type of interaction, again constraining non-native speakers who

make efforts to accommodate. Zuengler notes the results of Young's 1988 study in which proficient Chinese speakers of English used plural forms when talking to native speakers but used non-marked plurals when talking to other Chinese non-native speakers, even where these were also highly proficient users of English (Zuengler 1991: 226).

Some non-native speakers fail to accommodate sufficiently to native-speaker behavioural and linguistic norms, leading to a breakdown in communication, usually the result of pragmatic failure (Varonis and Gass 1985). Typical examples in the area of pronunciation differences received wide recognition in the 1980s through the work of Gumperz (Gumperz 1991) and, in the same period, the phenomenon was closely studied by Thomas (Thomas 1983 & 1984).

Communication breakdown also occurs when non-native speakers 'over-accommodate' to native speakers. 'Maximal convergence', a term coined by Janicki to describe non-native speakers' using the full range of native speaker language and behaviour, is unwelcome in interactions between native and non-native speakers. According to Janicki, native speakers do not warm to non-native speakers' using all the idiomatic expressions and strong linguistic indices of their identity. This rejection is explained by reference to Marton and Preston's personal possession hypothesis (Janicki 1986: 171. See also above, Section 2.1.1). Promodrou highlights the use of taboo words in 'maximum convergence' attempts, confirming that they 'are notoriously difficult for non-native speakers to manage without risking socio-pragmatic failure' (Promodrou forthcoming a). Promodrou provides a further example of pragmatic failure involving a non-native speaker attempting wordplay while interacting with a native speaker. He reports a non-native speaker as follows:

‘As a nonnative speaker I am not as free as native speakers to use the language creatively and idiomatically. For instance, yesterday I said something to a group of teachers and one of them commented ‘you can say that again!’ Humorously, I said ‘OK, I’ll say it again’ and repeated myself more emphatically - embarrassingly, she said, ‘no, I actually meant that I agreed with you.’ The assumption was, of course, that the meaning of the idiom had been lost on me! (Promodrou forthcoming b).

While non-native speakers are attempting to accommodate to their native-speaking interlocutors in behavioural and linguistic terms, native speakers are, it seems, trying to reciprocate by accommodating psychologically to their interlocutors. When a non-native speaker mishandles a conversational ritual, any negative reaction on the part of the native speaker will be modified by what Janicki calls the ‘congenial/uncongenial’ dimension. ‘Amusement’, ‘acceptance’ and even ‘appreciation’ are possible attitudes developed by native speakers while accommodating to non-native speakers (Janicki 1985: 44-45). Dirven and Pütz reiterate Janicki’s point, defining intercultural communicative competence as ‘not only the nonnative speaker’s competence to deal with his limited proficiency but also the native speaker’s ability and willingness to accommodate them (Dirven and Pütz 1994, cited in Deen 1997:17). Lesznyák’s study provides a couple of examples of native speakers accommodating psychologically to their non-native interlocutors (Lesznyák 2004: 203 and 214).

Deen finds, however, that psychological accommodation goes both ways: in her study, the non-native speakers did as much clarifying as the native speakers. Negotiation of meaning through psychological accommodation seems to be not just one-sided.

2.2.2 *Foreigner talk*

Native speakers' accommodation to non-native speakers is not necessarily limited to psychological posturing: there may also be an element of linguistic accommodation, in the shape of 'Foreigner Talk'. 'Foreigner Talk' was once thought of as a way of native speakers maintaining the social distance between themselves and 'foreigners' (Hall 1976:8, cited in Valdman 1981:43, Ferguson 1975:1-10) or as a marker of native-speaker dominance and non-native-speaker subservience (Clyne 1981:77) or, again, as a pedagogic device to provide language learners with comprehensible input (Terrell 1990). Freed, however, suggests that 'Foreigner Talk' may represent native speakers' attempts at maintaining conversational flow (Freed 1981), a stance also taken by Long (Long 1981b). Zuengler, in the same vein, suggests that Foreigner Talk may be one of several strategies used by native speakers to accommodate to non-native speakers in order to achieve understanding. She even implies that maintenance of social distance gives rise to the opposite of Foreigner Talk, noting that, where native speakers may feel under threat from non-native speaking interlocutors, they may well switch away from 'Foreigner Talk', the desire to accommodate being subordinated to the need for asserting or confirming identity. In a similar way, Zuengler reports a study by Beebe in which non-native speakers were observed to decrease their 'native-like' pronunciation when they felt under threat (Zuengler 1991:225).

The term 'Foreigner Talk' seems to be under-used in more recent research, and Crystal, writing in 2001, reports a version of it that indeed seems to move away from the traditional view, so much so that he refuses the 'Foreigner Talk' label. Giving only anecdotal evidence in the environment of the European Commission in

Brussels, Crystal notes that native speaker diplomats, politicians and civil servants, all accommodate to their non-native speaker partners, by using increasingly syllable-timed rhythm, simplified sentence constructions and fewer phonological elisions and assimilations (Crystal 2001:57).

Whether or not 'Foreigner Talk' is delivered as part of an accommodation strategy, it may still be perceived as a sign of dominance, while a reversion to normal and less comprehensible speech on the part of native speakers may be, perhaps more correctly, perceived as social distancing. In either case, a likely result will be the non-native speaker's sense of confidence-loss.

2.2.3 Loss of confidence

While they are attempting to accommodate to their native speaker interlocutors, non-native speakers may be doing so in an atmosphere of loss of confidence.

In terms of conversational behaviour, it is possible that non-native speakers will use an 'independent politeness strategy' whereas it is likely that native speakers, where the term refers to, for example, American, Australian, British, Canadian, Irish or New Zealander users of English, will use a different, 'high involvement politeness strategy' and therefore appear to take control of the discourse (Scollon and Scollon, 1995:87). Native speakers therefore appear to have the upper hand, causing non-native speakers to feel less confident.

Even more radically, it has been suggested that dominant partners in a conversation may claim not to understand subordinate ones as an *a priori* posture making all non-native speakers efforts nugatory and entailing further loss of confidence (Wolf 1959, cited in Jenkins, 2000b:14; Davies 1991a 118-20).

Anecdotal evidence suggests that non-native speaker feelings of inferiority when confronted by native speakers are widespread. Thomas reports her experience of this and how it lead to her stammering, making mistakes and eventually giving up during college seminars (Thomas 1999). Ventola and Mauranen recall their worries about whether or no their texts might appear, to a native-speaker, to be 'impolite, clumsy, stupid or naïve' (Ventola and Mauranen 1991:459). Japanese respondents in Abe's survey, however, report the contrary: they feel more confident speaking with native speakers than with other non-native speakers from the same geographical region since, in the latter situation, they have greater fear of loss of face (Abe 2004).

3. EWL 'Symmetrical' conversations

One type of 'symmetrical' EWL conversation might be where the interaction is between two native speakers from different countries. Toolan suggests that users of 'global English', which he characterises as 'the language of international high flyers' accommodate to each other (rather than one group doing all the accommodating). He does not provide any hard data but cites an anecdote concerning an Indian and an Irish person, who 'slip into' global English by the process of mutual accommodation (Toolan 1997:9).

Little research has been carried out, it seems, on this type of EWL interaction involving people who have acquired or learned English in early childhood. Conversations among non-native speakers have attracted rather more interest, usually under the ELF banner, discussed in Chapter 3. From the ongoing research in this area, it may be claimed that while 'asymmetrical' interactions between native speakers and non-native speakers are characterised by (i) the dominance of the former, (ii) the latter's often failed attempts at accommodation and (iii) the

production of Foreigner Talk, 'symmetrical' conversations among non-native speakers only should show the opposite characteristics: equality of all speakers and successful accommodation, including a more shared form of language.

3.1 *Equality among speakers*

Janicki's assertion that non-native speakers are restricted in their interactions with native speakers has already been noted (See above, Section 2.2.1). Conversely, in ELF settings involving no native speakers, there is openness and freedom (Janicki 1985:14-15).

Lesznyák notes that in ELF encounters 'the psychological posture of interactants is more favourable than it is in other types (i.e. native speaker to non-native speaker) of intercultural communication', presumably due to 'the mutual recognition of nonnativeness' (Lesznyák 2002:189 and 2004:58). She goes on to take things a good deal further by suggesting that the basis of ELF meetings is equality of cultures (Lesznyák 2004: 235). This may seem a little utopian given that there is very little equality among cultures in the world and that, as many have noted, the use of English often carries with it the notion of belonging to an elite (McArthur 1996:14).

3.2 *Accommodation*

Given caution regarding equality, it should nevertheless follow that EWL interactions without native speakers will be characterised by more equal and more successful accommodation than those between native speakers and non-native. Towards the end of her article arguing for models of ELF, Seidlhofer describes such accommodation as 'mutual' (Seidlhofer 2001:147).

3.2.1 The bases of ELF accommodation

It is obvious that “when speakers of more than one country or culture interact (in English), more than one set of social and cultural assumptions will be in operation” (Campbell et.al. 1983:36-7), but, as will be seen, the effects of cultural differences in ELF interactions must be seen as constructed on some universal foundations.

Tarone suggests, for example, that there is a universal aspect to strategic competence “used to bridge the gaps between (....) two linguistic or sociolinguistic systems”. Although this type of competence may be universal, the types of strategy used for bridging purposes may well be culturally determined (Tarone 1980:422).

Sifakis appears to agree and identifies, in EIL communication among non-native speakers, “the ability to process each other’s performance to account for the needs of the specific situation and of one another” (Sifakis 2004:240-1)

Meierkord provides psychological underpinnings for these universals by referring to ‘two principles’ usually governing ELF conversations: the first is that participants wish to save face and so avoid putting their interlocutors into embarrassing situations and the second has to do with interactants reassuring each other of their benevolent attitude (Meierkord 2000).

3.2.2. Culture transfer

Given that participants in ELF interactions feel relatively free and equal and that they make use of psychologically-motivated, universal capacities, a point of contention is the extent to which they draw on their background cultures in order to fulfil conversational aims.

On one level, it has been noted that interactants deliberately avoid the use of culturally bound information which listeners would be unlikely to know (Tarone and

Yule 1987:57), although Meierkord observes that speakers translate proverbs from their home cultures (Meierkord 2002:114).

On the level of culturally-determined interaction strategies, however, the situation is not so clear. On the one hand, House's ELF conversation data seem to show that participants in these interactions "do not let their native linguacultural norms come to the fore" and so fail to make "appropriate use of routine pragmatic phenomena" (House 1999:80, 84). On the other, several people have assumed that "users of English bring elements of their own culture to their interactions" (Medgyes 1999:188). Both Smith and Davies agree that when an intercultural or international group of people interact, different discourse strategies or performance strategies may be in play (Smith 1987a:3, Davies 1991:156), and the more proficient people become in their use of English, the more they are likely to transfer sociolinguistic or pragmatic norms from their home culture (Takashi and Beebe 1987).

These assertions have been supported by a small amount of field research. In Meeuwis' study of interactions in English among Flemish, Tanzanian and Korean users, there are examples of pragmalinguistic transfer from other languages into English with Korean speakers, for example, giving prominence to topic over grammatical subject and often using a word central in a previous utterance as a backchannelling signal (Meeuwis 1994: 64). Meierkord has also found cultural elements in play in cross-cultural conversations where she has noted, for example, diverse forms of a number of routine formulae (Meierkord 2002:114).

3.2.3. ELF Strategies

Whether or not non-native speakers refer to their background cultures for strategic resources in their interactions, there is much agreement on the emergence of strategies which seem to be specific to ELF conversations.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Firth was one of the first to identify phenomena as typical of ELF interactions. In his paper on the discursive accomplishment of normality, he puts forward the idea of the 'let-it-pass' procedure. In his ELF data (recorded telephone conversations between a Danish export manager and international clients) he finds interactants coping with misunderstandings by letting them pass as interactionally irrelevant. He also finds that interactants construct interactional order in the conversations by managing topics jointly, distributing turns in an orderly way and relying on the assumption that utterances are sequentially linked. It is the 'let-it-pass' strategy which seems, however, to be characteristic of this type of interaction, and not to be imported from a background culture (Firth 1996).

In her 2000 paper, Meierkord identifies in NNS-NNS small talk several strategic phenomena which she considers to be typical of ELF interaction. These are: overlapping turns where the speakers do not see their utterances as competitive but rather as collaborative; absence of extractors (such as 'I'd better be off now') to link opening and closing phases to the core phase of conversations; frequent and long pauses both within and between turns; high occurrence of cajolers or verbal appeals for the listener's sympathy; considerable use of politeness strategies such as routine formulae in opening and closing phases and backchannelling. Meierkord notes that the back-channelling behaviour is very similar to what has been observed with British English native speakers, suggesting perhaps that it is not imported from

interactants' home cultures but rather learned from native-speaker sources (Meierkord 2000).

Lesznyák's book-length study focuses on topic management. She contrasts this strategic phenomenon in ELF meetings with the way it is handled in meetings where non-native speakers are in a minority compared to native speakers. She finds that in the ELF meetings, "a process is observable in which divergent communicative behaviours converge towards each other" (Lesznyák 2004:234). Seemingly heterogeneous behaviour among participants was actually part of a dynamic development from chaos to orderliness (ibid 197). By contrast, the EFL meetings followed a clear pattern from the beginning and did not exhibit any convergent behaviour.

3.2.4 Community construction

The idea that ELF interaction is characterised by convergent behaviour chimes with the idea that participants in ELF conversations are concerned, whatever the aim of the conversation, with the construction of a community. According to Hüllen, ELF speakers actually create speech communities as they proceed to interact with each other. As a consequence, rules and norms gradually emerge (Hüllen 1982:86).

In the paper mentioned above, Firth's 'let-it-pass' procedure is central to convergent behaviour which demonstrates the ability of speakers to 'attend and disattend to a range of anomalies and infelicities in their unfolding interaction.' (Firth 1996:243).

Firth is careful to note that this ability is based on local considerations – the need to achieve interactional goals alongside the transactional goals inherent in business deals.

The distinction between local and global goals is taken up by House who notes that the ELF interactants in her data co-construct a speech community only where the focus is on ‘a local affair’ rather than on the presentation of an ‘argumentative path’ (House 2002b: 260). The same phenomenon seems to be present in data provided by Knapp in his study of interactions among non-native speakers, some of whom were ‘near-native speakers’. He finds that behaviour was convergent until the competitiveness of the situation became paramount, at which point interactants became more divergent: the near-native speakers left the others behind. Knapp goes on to cite accommodation theory as an explanation for the change in behaviour: non-native speakers use a convergent style with each other in informal contexts to ‘signal (...) that they share common ground, even if it is only for shared incompetence in the language’. With a shift to more formal and competitive situations perceived differences among speakers triggers a more divergent style. He sums up by suggesting that the co-construction of community aspect of ELF interaction may be restricted to certain types of situation (Knapp 2002: 240-241).

Many other studies stress the cooperative nature of lingua franca communication without this rider (Schwartz 1980, Yule 1990, Gramkow Andersen 1993, Meeuwis 1994, Varonis and Gass 1985, Meierkord 1996 and 1998, Wagner and Firth 1997) and Meierkord, in particular, goes further by suggesting that participants in ELF interactions are engaged in the construction, through cultural contact, of a lingua franca culture (Meierkord 2000).

3.2.5. A shared form of language

While native speakers may use Foreigner Talk to address non-native speakers, who may in turn get into difficulties in attempting to accommodate to native-speaker norms, in ELF interactions, all parties might share language forms on a more equal footing. Phillipson notes, for example, that “in many international fora, competent speakers of English as a second language are more comprehensible than native speakers because they can be better at adjusting their language for people from different cultures and linguistic backgrounds” (Phillipson 2003:167).

A less generous view might have it that ELF interactions are easier because all participants have an equal and limited range of vocabulary and cultural references to share. Seidlhofer reports a student, writing in an essay, thus:

“... Compared to conversations with native speakers I felt much more at ease in this group of ELF speakers. About half a year ago, I had spent an evening together with several native and non-native speakers of English. In comparison, I contributed much more in this ELF conversation than in the conversation with the native speakers. While it sometimes happened that, due to lacking vocabulary or cultural knowledge, I did not understand some of the native speakers’ utterances, this never happened in the group of ELF learners...” (Seidlhofer 2002)

A limited range in grammar, as well as in vocabulary and cultural reference, may lead to a shared form of language which is simpler than one of the national forms of English. Mauraen seems to think so: she considers that ELF ‘tends towards some kind of structural simplification, or generally unmarked features, because as a global language it has an exceptionally rich variety of L1s among its users’ (Mauraen :2003:515). Yano agrees with her, characterising EIL in three ways. The

first characteristic is generalisation: according to Yano, EIL is not ‘high-blown’, there are parallels between it and the Plain English campaign. The second is regularisation: Yano notes the existence in EIL of regularised plurals such as ‘mouses’, ‘formulas’ and ‘symposiums’, etc. Thirdly, Yano identifies the characteristic of commonality, giving the example of the cancellation of / θ / and of the growing ubiquity of ‘isn’t it’ as a general tag (Yano 2004).

4 Symmetrical interactions including non-native speakers and native speakers; asymmetries among non-native speakers

Given the tradition of conflating Standard English users with native speakers and the consequent attachment of language ownership and authority to these people, it is not surprising that interactions in English without native speakers are often considered to be more successful than those with them: the ‘trespassers’ can form leagues among themselves without fear of what the ‘proprietors’ may say. Empirical data seems to suggest that a spirit of creative co-operation and collaboration informs ELF, with the obvious corollary that when English is used in ‘asymmetrical’ situations, where native speakers are present, a superior-subordinate, perhaps conflictual atmosphere obtains.

If empirical data suggests as much, it is surely in part because the data itself has been collected with divisions, imbalances and symmetries in mind. On the one hand, data has been gathered based on conversations between native speakers and non-native speakers. These conversations tend to be either one-to-one or in settings

where the non-native speaker is in the minority. An exception to this is to be found in Knapp's 2002 paper. On the other hand, conversations providing ELF data have, perforce, excluded native speakers and, in Lesznyák's case, been compared directly with an EFL conversation where, again, the non-native speaker is in a minority.

The question has not been addressed of what may happen when native speakers are in a genuinely international conversation, on the same footing, aside from the native-speaker-status issue, as the other participants.

It may well be that, in international or cross-cultural settings, the way speakers relate to each other in terms of superior-subordinate or group solidarity has to do with many factors of which native-speaker status is only one. It may even be that native-speaker status is not a factor. It is possible that accommodation, convergent behaviour and the co-construction of community characterise any kind of EWL conversation where the focus is 'local', where there is no competition and no global goal to achieve. It is also possible, that native speakers are not the only ones to use Foreigner Talk: Haegeman suggests that non-native speakers may use it when addressing other non-native speakers whose level of linguistic competence they perceive as being lower than their own (Haegeman 2002).

At this point it is worth returning to Firth's 1996 paper which, it will be remembered, reports findings from telephone conversations between a Danish businessman and his international counterparts. Firth does not use a 'Foreigner Talk' framework to account for the way the Danish user of English modifies his speech during the conversation: in an ELF context, he naturally wants to emphasise the symmetry of the interaction. Yet the transcripts of the conversation show that it is the Danish speaker who is in the dominant position, linguistically: his accommodation to the

Indian is on a par with the accommodation, noted by Crystal, and, similarly, distanced from Foreigner Talk (Firth 1996, Crystal 2001).

There may be a case, then, for thinking of interactions between native speakers and non-native speakers, or among heterogeneous groups of people including both native and non-native speakers, as being symmetrical. At the same time, asymmetries clearly exist in interactions involving only non-native speakers who do not, of course, constitute a homogeneous whole in contradistinction to native speakers.

If instances of convergence and divergence, symmetry and asymmetry are to be sought, it might be more fruitful to consider what Pennycook calls “the connections between English and various forms of culture and knowledge that are far less readily localizable”. Pennycook refers to the “dominance of English in the domains of popular culture, international academic relations, and other forms of information transfer” and to the international use of English as a social practice, as a way of self-positioning within these international domains (Pennycook 1994: 19, 33). In this sense, any asymmetries are more likely to be between people who think of themselves, or who are thought of, as the ‘owners’ of the domain and those who are the ‘outsiders’; this has nothing at all to do with the traditional categories of native speaker and non-native speaker.

5. Conclusion

This Chapter has attempted to organise predictions concerning spoken EWL into three groups: EWL seen as interactions between native speakers and non-native speakers, as interactions among non-native speakers only and as any international or cross-cultural interactions.

By referring to previous research, it has become clear that, in the main, interactions between native speakers and non-native speakers are likely to be different from ELF interactions. Given that this research has largely centred on interactions involving non-native speakers in a minority vis-à-vis native speakers, or in a setting where they are clearly relegated to an inferior position, the likelihood becomes a hypothesis worth testing under circumstances where, on the contrary, there is no clear majority and where little or nothing in the setting implies native-speaker superiority.

Interactions among non-native speakers, ELF interactions, have been characterised by co-operativeness and the co-construction of community. The present research may further confirm this characterisation and may go further by allowing for the same levels of comity even where native speakers are present. Interactions among ELF speakers who all share a cultural and language background may register the same, or different levels of comity.

Finally, the third group of predictions seems very fragile, given that little data is available deriving from situations where the native speaker and non-native speaker divide has not been an underlying factor. One of the purposes of the present research is to investigate just such a possibility.

The following chapter will present the methods used in order to (a) identify and select data-providing participants, (b) gather useful spoken data and (c) analyse the collected data in an appropriate way.

Chapter 5

Gathering and analysing data

1 Introduction

This thesis has so far attempted to establish that the search for ‘an’ International English, or any other describable, fixed entity, does not form any part of the aim of the present research which, instead, focuses on how people in intercultural or international contexts use the English language resources available to them. The acronym EWL, standing for English as a World Language, has been shown to be a useful term for this. In the preceding chapter, a brief review of previous research showed that there has been some attention given, on the one hand, to international interactions between native speakers and non-native speakers and, on the other, to interactions involving non-native speakers only. The latter interactions have been dealt with under the ‘English as Lingua Franca’ heading. The chapter concluded on a speculative note, making hypotheses concerning conversations in English as a World Language – among speakers of all kinds, irrespective of whether or not they are native speakers. Conversations between native speakers and non-native speakers have been largely thought of as asymmetrical and, therefore, problematic. ELF conversations have, on the contrary almost, been characterised in terms of co-operativeness, collaboration and the co-construction of new cultures.

Whereas the central aim of this thesis remains a general one, having to do with a characterisation of English as a World Language, greater specificity is now possible: two more detailed questions seem to present themselves, along with a framework for analysing conversational data. The first question revolves around the notion of symmetry or asymmetry: will EWL conversations which include native speakers appear asymmetrical, compared to all other conversations? Will there be evidence of asymmetry elsewhere? The second, connected question follows from the ELF research referred to in the preceding chapter: are co-operativeness and convergence

characteristics of ELF conversations only, or may other conversations, whether EWL or among national groups be characterised in the same way?

Previous research has allowed for these questions to emerge; it also suggests analytical frameworks within which to study EWL conversations. Given the focus on the holistic issues of symmetry and co-operation, it appears obvious that conversational data needs to be analysed in an explanatory way rather than in a flatly descriptive one. Such an approach is justified at length by Candlin who affirms that it “rests on the assumption (...) that participants use language, employ strategies of communication, and infer particular meanings often without any conscious awareness of how such usages, in particular social conditions, act to betray sectional interests, beliefs and values” (Candlin 1987:25). The latter part of this chapter will present, following Candlin, the analytical methods which have been used to account for what happens in the EWL conversations central to this research. This will be preceded, however, by two preliminary sections.

Firstly, descriptions will be given of the methods used in order to identify data-providing participants and, secondly, there will be an account of the ways in which the selected participants were screened in order to find out their perceptions of themselves and of each other as different language users. This screening was considered essential since, if symmetries and asymmetries were to emerge, or if a co-operative spirit was to be observed in conversations, it was thought important to ascertain the extent to which collaborative or antagonistic attitudes, as well as perceptions of linguacultural superiority or inferiority, were present before any interaction took place. A third preliminary section will be devoted to the methods adopted for collecting and transcribing the conversational data.

2 Selecting data-producing participants

Previous studies of international or intercultural conversations have used data-providing subjects in business settings or in university or student-related ones. In some cases, real business or commercial transactions have been recorded (e.g. Varonis and Gass 1985a, Firth 1996) while in others, researchers have gone to specific sites where English has been used internationally, by students or student-aged people. (Knapp 2002, Meierkord 2000, Lesznyák 2002, 2004). Knapp made recordings at a European Youth United Nations conference (Knapp 2002), while Lesznyák used a similar setting of a European youth forum (Lesznyák 2002 and 2004) and Meierkord a University Hall of Residence (Meierkord 2000, 2004).

Other researchers have turned to their own students and colleagues in order to obtain conversational data (e.g. Smith 1979, Varonis and Gass 1985a, Tarone and Yule 1987 and Jenkins 2000). This option was chosen for the present research: a 'pool' of participants was gathered from among students and staff at the University of Hertfordshire. The prime motivation for this choice was one of convenience: having access, in theory, to English speakers from sixty different countries constituted an opportunity which could not easily be ignored. At the same time, using the University to provide participants ensured that some of the variables in the conversation data would be reduced: the participants all had similar levels of education, came from backgrounds where tertiary-level education is considered normal and had some shared information, knowledge and experience in common. They were all, therefore, educated speakers of English.

In selecting the pool of participants, there were none of the constraints and concomitant difficulties experienced by previous work which required participants to

be characterised as native speakers or non-native speakers. That said, care was taken to ensure that those chosen came from a wide range of language and cultural backgrounds and that monolingual users of English as well as multilingual ones were included.

In order to make sure that participants were more or less equally proficient in English a procedure was adopted based on that used by Smith in his research into the comparative intelligibility of different users of English (Smith 1979): as part of a questionnaire designed to examine attitudes and perceptions, participants were asked to compare their command of English to that of other participants (see Appendix D). Potential participants were excluded, who were rated as being much more or much less proficient than anyone else in the pool.

Ultimate proof of participants' equality of proficiency was the conversational task itself: all interactants were able to participate actively in their respective conversations save one. The complete pool of participants is given in Appendix A.

3. Exploring language-based attitudes and perceptions

The previous research referred to in Chapter 4 seems to have taken perceptions of asymmetry, antipathy or even antagonism as givens in native-speaker/non-native speaker interactions. Similarly, ELF research focusing on co-operativeness suggests that this too is either a given (non-native speakers have a natural bond among them) or arises from international conversational settings in which all participants are equal. In order to be clear as to whether these perceptions precede acts of communication or arise from them (or, indeed, whether preceding perceptions become firmer or are

overturned in them) it would seem to make sense to attempt to gain a little preliminary information before proceeding to the gathering of conversational data.

In particular, it was considered useful to find out (a) whether participants thought of themselves as native speakers or non-native speakers and what this entailed in terms of linguacultural attitudes and (b) the extent to which some participants perceived others as similar to themselves (entailing, presumably, more symmetrical conversations) and potentially co-operative.

Data concerning participants' attitudes was collected in two separate stages: group discussions at the first stage were followed, at the second, by a 'listening and questionnaire' procedure.

3.1. Discussions

Group discussions were chosen as an appropriate method for gauging participants' language-related perceptions of themselves and attitudes towards others. This approach was adopted following Hyrkstedt and Kalaja's suggestion that, for the required information, a discourse analysis approach to examining participants' talking is a more efficient substitute for more traditional, positivist questionnaires (Kalaja 1997, Hyrkstedt and Kalaja 1998).

Mixed groups of participants were asked to discuss issues related to the research topic. The issues had to do with how native speakers can be identified, the connection between English and speaker identity, the question of who 'owns' English and who, therefore, might or might not be considered an authority over it. Participants were also asked to situate themselves on the native speaker/non-native speaker divide. The complete set of discussion questions is given in Appendix B. 35

people from the participant pool were involved in seven discussions. Discussion groups are given in Appendix E.

The discussions were recorded, roughly transcribed and analysed. Explicitly-expressed attitudes and perceptions were highlighted as were those emerging in response to other utterances or appearing to be constructed in collaboration with or in opposition to other participants. The following extract from one of the transcripts and following analytical notes may serve as an example of the adopted approach:

David: Yeah. One main reason will be that my English will be like ... what can I say? ... I'll say polluted with my other languages, yeah. Theirs will be pure English because maybe they only... they were brought up speaking English in their ...native English...

Ian: That's not entirely true because you don't have just English in this country, you have got English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish and a lot of people from Ireland (Appendix K, D5:66-70)

In analysing this interchange, explicit attitude markers 'polluted' and 'pure' are noted first: David (who thinks of himself as a non-native speaker), does not perceive himself to be an authoritative user of English. Subsequently, John's response is examined as a response to David. It is the act of disagreement, rather than the content of what John actually says (which does not make much sense) that partly constitutes the expression of his attitude which seems to be rather defensive. As such, John seems to refuse the implication that his own English may be unpolluted, that he may have more authority than David.

The discussion procedure was terminated after the seventh discussion since, by then, general attitude and perception tendencies had begun to emerge. The perceptions and

attitudes of particular individuals were then assessed following a listening and questionnaire procedure outlined below.

3.2 Listening and questionnaires

Following the preliminary discussion procedure, 45 participants were selected from the pool and placed into ten international/intercultural groups where various nationalities and cultural backgrounds were represented in each group. In each case, every effort was made to ensure that no one nationality or cultural background was represented by more than one participant. Groups were of mixed sexes and, with a couple of exceptions, consisted of people of roughly the same age. A list of all international groups is given in Appendix C.

Each selected participant was then interviewed individually according to a set procedure: (1) he or she was asked to read a text silently, the same text being given to all participants; (2) he or she had to summarise the text, orally, without looking back at it and the resulting monologue was audio-recorded; (3) he or she had to give oral instructions for getting from the University of Hertfordshire to central London, which was also recorded. In this way, there was a recording of each participant's use of English in two different sorts of monologue.

When all members of each group had been recorded in this way, the recordings were spliced together and each group member was asked to listen to all the recordings of the other members of the same group and to use a questionnaire to rate speakers for friendliness, reliability and proficiency in English. Participants were not, at this stage, given any other information about who they were listening to, nor had they, in most cases, met the people concerned. The questionnaire is given in Appendix D.

This procedure was based on the ‘Matched Guise’ technique and on questionnaire-based approaches to assessing language-based attitudes (Giles 1970, Giles and Powesland 1975, Ryan, Carranza and Moffie 1977, Kalin and Rayko 1980, Chiba et. al. 1995, Dalton-Puffer et. al. 1997, Lasagabaster and Sierra 2002, Timmis 2002).

While previous questionnaire-based research has sought to uncover and affirm attitudes in order to make general, sometimes absolute points, the use of questionnaires in this project was aimed solely at ascertaining the feasibility or otherwise of the proposed international groups and, where appropriate, at helping to analyse conversational data by referring to participants’ attitudes towards each other.

Given the limited aims of the questionnaires, as well as the relatively low numbers of respondents in each case, there was little need for sophisticated statistical apparatus.

The important results concern only the members of each conversation group, independently from any other group.

Results of both the discussions and the listening and questionnaires are given in Chapter 6.

4. ‘Homogeneous’ groups for recording conversations

The final stage of preparation consisted of putting participants into homogeneous groups. Using the same participant pool, groups of four to five people (in one case only three) were formed, who shared a national background. This does not mean, of course, that they necessarily shared a deeply common cultural or ethnic background, but does mean that they were brought up, educated or instructed in English within similar or identical systems. In some cases, nationality, ethnicity and culture all seemed to overlap: the members of the American group, for example, all considered

themselves to be ethnically white Americans (despite claiming to use different labels for themselves in different circumstances) and the Norwegian group members, likewise, thought of themselves as culturally very similar. The same can not be said of the Nigerian and Indian groups whose members did not necessarily share all their other languages and came, in some cases, from different faith backgrounds.

Every effort was made to ensure that at least one member of each 'homogeneous' group was also a member of one of the cross-cultural groups since this would make comparison more significant. A list of all homogeneous groups is given in Appendix F.

5. Data-gathering and transcription methods

5.1. Data-gathering

A pool of participants had now been identified and grouped into both international and homogeneous groups and a preliminary investigation of attitudes had been undertaken, which might be used to explain conversational results; actual conversational data could now be gathered.

Several options seemed available to do this: Discourse Completion Tasks (DCTs), Communication Games, Field Notes, Recall Protocols, Recording Naturally Occurring Authentic Discourse (NOAD), Role-Plays and Simulations.

DCTs and Communication Games were eliminated since they appear to be valid only for the analysis of isolated speech acts and, in any case, tend to elicit symbolic, rather than real pragmatic action (Golato 2003: 92, Lesznyák 2004:86). Field Notes were also eliminated for the reasons given by Yuan, who points up problems with accuracy, by Lehrer, who notes that many pragmatic discourse markers are not

recalled and by Golato, who makes a general point about the dubious quality of noted material. (Yuan 2001: 285-287, Lehrer 1989: 105, Golato 2003: 95-6) Recall Protocols seem to suffer from similar disadvantages (Lehrer 1989: 105).

The decision not to use recorded NOAD was taken mainly for reasons of convenience: given that the intention was to collect a large amount of data and, in particular, to compare international and cross-cultural speaking with speaking in homogeneous groups, it was felt that it would not be realistically possible to find enough opportunities where relevant groups of people would come together and talk about the same thing. This fits a general criticism of the procedure, reported by Golato (Golato 2003: 97).

It was eventually decided, therefore, to use a simulation, which in this case was taken to mean an unreal situation in which participants were not required to play roles. A compelling reason in favour of using a simulation was that, by dint of having all groups tackling the same simulation task and therefore, presumably, having to perform similar speech acts, the likelihood increased of gathering comparable data across all the recordings (Kasper 2000). At the same time some setting factors were controllable and, since the focus of interest was interactional aims, rather than transactional ones, it did not matter that the participants had no real commitment to the outcome of the simulation.

Having taken, therefore, a lead from Fant who pointed out the utility of simulation in that it may imitate reality with regard to relevant parameters (in this case interactional features) care was taken to consider his six warnings (Fant 1992:65).

Warning 1. *'subjects may not understand their task and may, therefore, abandon their roles in order to discuss the instructions and the meta-activity or role-play'*

The task was discussed with participants before the recordings were begun; participants gave assurances that they understood exactly what to do.

Warning 2. *'subjects may not be familiar with the simulated activity in real life and thus may not act in a typical way'*

There was no evidence in the recordings of participants showing lack of familiarity with the simulated activity.

Warning 3. *'subjects cannot identify with their roles'*

Participants were not required to play roles. In the simulation they had only to be themselves, albeit in an unusual situation.

Warning 4. *'subjects do not take their role seriously due to lack of motivation'*

This did happen on occasion, usually when participants seemed to have decided that they had had enough and wanted to bring things to a close. On one occasion, one participant seemed to be taking things flippantly, less because of lack of motivation and more because of enthusiasm to stimulate interesting debate.

Warning 5. *'subjects' behaviour may be influenced by the fact that they are being observed'*

This objection of Fant's, recalling Labov's observer's paradox, would also be true, of course, with NOAD (Labov, 1972:113).. In this case, the artificiality of the simulation was complemented by the artificiality of the recording process. Participants' awareness that they were having an 'unnatural' conversation was matched by their awareness that they were being recorded.

Warning 6. *'time constraints may create an unnatural progression of the activity'*

No time constraints were imposed. The resulting recordings are therefore of varying lengths. Participants seemed to come to a natural end after around ten minutes in each case.

The simulation required the participants (who, it will be remembered, were all students or staff members at the University of Hertfordshire) to imagine that their university was about to be visited by an international dignitary. The groups were to discuss how the budget set aside for the event was to be spent. Each participant in each group of four or five was given a 'cue card', outlining the situation and proposing a way of spending some of the money. Adding all the proposals together, the total sum was greater than the total budget allowed. Participants were therefore required to argue their own corner first, trying to achieve the sum proposed for their suggestion, but then to make concessions so that all agreed on how the overall budget should be spent. 'Cue cards' for the simulation are given in Appendix G.

5.2. Transcription

Given that the aim in this research is an examination of EWL in terms of interaction, an approach to transcription was chosen which is in line with those proposed for Conversation Analysis. Rather than using conventions which might focus on structural patterning, a transcription of talk as social action was considered to be more useful, using conventions that capture features of talk which are interactionally important. The conventions adopted by Meierkord and by Lesznyák were chosen, combined with a couple of features from the Jefferson system, refined by Atkinson and Heritage, on which Lesznyák's approaches were largely based (Atkinson and Heritage 1984, Meierkord 1996, 2000; Lesznyák 2004).

Lesznyák's conventions for recording turns, inaudible and unclear segments, best guesses, hesitation, laughter, cut offs and overlapping speech were all followed.

Re-starts, pauses, lengthened vowels and comments were not recorded since these phenomena did not seem relevant to the research questions and every effort was made to keep things simple.

Unlike in Lesznyák's work, it was decided to maintain commas and full stops to show continuation and stopping respectively. Although it was felt that Lesznyák is right when she argues that spoken language does not reflect grammar rules (Lesznyák 2004:100), these punctuation marks make the conversations easier to read and do represent, as they did for Jefferson, the ends of tone groups.

The transcription conventions are given in Appendix H.

6. Handling the conversation data: word counting and annotation

Transcription showed that there was a total of about 50,000 words of conversation, roughly divided into 25,000 words each for international and homogeneous conversations. In order to achieve a high level of thoroughness, a Corpus Linguistics approach was taken for the initial analysis of the data.

A brief lexical analysis was first carried out, using a lemmatised list (Kilgarriif 1997). Cobb's 'Compleat Lexical Tutor' was used for this, providing not only a general frequency list of words, but also a division of words into four groups: those belonging to the thousand most frequent, those belonging to the second thousand most frequent, words in the Academic Wordlist and 'Offlist' words. (Cobb 1997 and <http://www.132.208.224.131/> accessed June 15th 2005).

Subsequently, and following Leech's injunction, the transcripts were annotated (Leech 1991). Nvivo software was used for annotation purposes since this allowed for easy retrieval of conversation extracts under each notation heading (Richards

2000). Given the parameters of the research questions as refined at the end of Chapter 4 (Chapter 4, Sections 4 and 5), annotation was limited in order to focus on typical patterns connected to contextual factors influencing variability (Biber et.al.1998:3). Annotation headings therefore reflect the thrust of the analysis, which concerned participants' interactional goals. The choice of headings, along with their associated linguistics tradition is presented in below, followed by an overview of the explanatory procedures adopted.

6.1 Superordinate annotation headings: Convergence and Divergence

Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), referred to briefly in Chapter 4 (Section 2.2.1) has been successfully used in several research projects similar to this one (e.g. Young 1988, Knapp and Meierkord 2002: 19-20). It was used here as an overarching analytical framework because of its in-depth approach, viewing conversational contributions as constrained by participants' perceptions of each other and looking at how utterances are affected by speakers relating to each other as the conversation evolves. In particular, CAT's broad categories of convergence and divergence seem to correspond to the issues of symmetry and asymmetry which were of prime importance in the investigation (Giles 1973, Giles and Smith 1979, Lesznyák 2004:78).

6.2 Convergence: accommodation

Occasionally, instances of convergence in the conversations were coded simply as 'accommodation', overtly referring to CAT. This was done only in the rare instances

where speakers clearly copied each others' speech patterns, in particular their lexical patterns. Otherwise, convergence was coded using labels from Speech Act Theory, Pragmatics and Interactional Sociolinguistics.

6.3. *Convergence: speech acts*

Many conversation turns were coded as pragmatic speech acts. In particular, turns were annotated when speakers appeared either to be agreeing explicitly with other speakers or to be making concessions; in both cases, the assumption was that participants were sacrificing transactional aims for the sake of interactional ones in an attempt to achieve convergence.

The 'Concession' and 'Explicit Agreement' headings are clearly consonant with Speech Act Theory and Pragmatics, considered together by Eggins and Slade as 'logico-philosophic' methods for the study of spoken language (Eggins and Slade 1997:24). Taken together, they provide an analytical framework which is both explanatory and allowing of personal input.

6.4 *Convergence: discourse markers*

Functional labels conventionally given to certain speech acts, were, then, considered useful in dealing with conversational moves where the speaker's intention is either explicitly or implicitly stated. Some of these may be grouped as Pragmatic Discourse Markers and various turns in the conversation data were accordingly annotated as 'Hedges', 'Downtoners' or 'Backchannels'. These terms are used by Carter and McCarthy, who point out that discourse markers such as these not only indicate relationships between utterances but that, significantly for this thesis, they also

‘indicate social relations relating to power and formality’. (Carter and McCarthy 2006: Sections 105-112). Carter and McCarthy have a section in their grammar for ‘Hedges’ which, they explain, are expressions used ‘to downtone the assertiveness of a segment of discourse’ (ibid). Expressions in this conversation data were accordingly annotated as ‘hedges’ where they seemed to be fulfilling this function, again, as part of an overall strategy aimed at achieving convergence. The coding ‘downtoner’ was used for adverbs and adverbial expressions used to downtone adjectives or adjectival expressions. ‘Hedging laughter’ was also coded in this context: on many occasions, some participants appeared to be forcing laughter in order to lighten their utterances: as with hedging expressions such as ‘sort of’, ‘you know’ and ‘I mean’, laughter was often used to accompany an utterance, so that convergence might be achieved while the participant in question might still fulfil her or his transactional goal.

Carter and McCarthy’s grammar also contains material under the sub-heading ‘Discourse marking in responses’, which deals with the use of discourse markers by listeners to indicate their involvement with what is being said. Markers such as *okay* and *right* show that the listener is channelling back support for what the speaker is saying (ibid. 34.16). This is a clear reference to ‘backchannelling’, first identified by Fries, which constitutes yet another way in which speakers attempt to achieve convergence (Fries 1952, cited in McCarthy 2002:51). The label ‘backchannel’ was used extensively in annotating the conversation data. Laughter was also coded as a form of backchannelling, following Meierkord’s finding that participants in ELF conversations employ laughter as a substitute for verbal back channels (Meierkord 2000: 120). Backchannelling laughter was coded separately from hedging laughter, which participants used to accompany their own turns.

6.5 Convergence: other strategic phenomena

Apart from attempting to achieve convergence by accommodating to each other's speech patterns, performing specific speech acts and using specific discourse markers, including laughter, participants also seemed to make strategic use of jokes, colloquial and vague language, inclusive 'you' and 'we', inclusive questions and collaborative turns: in annotating conversation transcripts for convergent behaviour, all of these were noted.

While the use of jokes to achieve convergence among conversation participants does not seem to have been studied, colloquial language, as a marker of casual style, has been identified by Joos as paying an interactant a compliment by treating him or her as an insider (Joos 1967: 23ff). Joos's work pre-dates systematic frameworks for the analysis of conversation but colloquial language, like jokes, might be usefully considered as an interactional strategy. It is in these terms that Jucker et al. present their work on vague language which, they conclude, may serve various social functions, among which is that of providing 'a way of establishing a social bond' or, in CAT terms, convergence (Jucker et al. 2003: 1766).

An interactional sociolinguistics framework was also used in noting instances of inclusive 'you' and 'we' under the general convergence heading. This follows Tao's conclusion that generic 'you' expressions 'serve to indicate high involvement'. (Tao 1998:37). At the same time, inclusive questions were coded as further indication of convergence attempts; in particular, questions such as 'Right?', 'OK?' and 'Isn't it?' uttered with a fall-rise tone change were noted, following Brazil et al.'s finding that this intonation pattern is often an indicator of convergent behaviour (Brazil et al. 1980).

Finally, and following Meierkord's work, collaborative turns were also coded as showing convergence (Meierkord 2000): there were many cases of overlapping turns where it was clear that speakers were supporting each other rather than trying to take the floor for themselves.

6.6 Divergence

Speech acts were coded as divergent when participants appeared to prioritise their transactional goals without any concessions to interactional ones. Thus, bald assertions and unhedged suggestions were coded as plain 'divergent'. Challenging questions, often making rhetorical use of negative forms, were given a divergence category of their own: the pragmatic force of, for example, "Don't you think that....?" seems clearly to be a divergent one.

Certain modal verbs were also noted as indicating divergence, in a parallel to those used to hedge suggestions in attempts at convergence: while 'might', 'could' and 'would' could be seen as ways of toning utterances down, 'must', 'have to' and, to a lesser extent 'need' seemed to reinforce transactional goals at the expense of interactional ones.

Paralleling the coding of downtoning adverbs and adverbial expressions such as 'a bit' and 'quite', intensifying adverbs and adverbial expressions were coded as divergent: when participants marked their utterances with, for example, 'really' or 'absolutely', divergent aims were attributed.

A similar converse was identified in the prosodic features of the conversation data: where fall-rise tone changes were coded, in connection with question tags, as marking convergent behaviour, rise-fall ones were marked for divergence recognised by Brazil et. al. as a marker of the speaker's authority (Brazil et. al. 1980).

Finally, closure moves were also coded under divergence: when participants seemed to signal that no further discussion was to take place on a particular issue, they were considered to have put their transactional goal above any interactional ones (Burton 1978).

6.7 Conversation annotation: summary

After a brief quantitative lexical analysis, the conversation data was annotated using a Communication Accommodation Theory framework and coding derived from Speech Act Theory, Pragmatics and Interactional Sociolinguistics. Turns were coded as either convergent or divergent, two broad categories, under which a number of subcategories were used for more specific coding. The complete set of coding labels is given in Appendix J.

7. Analysis of the conversation data: explanation

A Pragmatics-informed annotation of the conversations permitted an explanatory commentary which, it was hoped, would serve to answer the research questions: by examining the construction of convergence and comity, and their opposites, in both sorts of conversation, similarities and differences were thought likely to emerge, and EWL might be characterised, with a particular focus on symmetries and asymmetries. In order to focus on patterns which were characteristic of EWL, other explanations had of course to be taken into consideration and perhaps even eliminated: instances of symmetry and asymmetry, for example, might have several explanations, and not only that put forward by Meierkord, who concludes that ELF conversation, unlike conversation between native and non-native speakers, is characterised by a highly

consensual interactional style. Meierkord draws, for support, on the work of Firth and of Gramkow Anderson (Meierkord 1996, 2000 section 3.2, Firth 1990, 1996, Gramkow Anderson 1993).

The explanatory frameworks provided by Conversation Analysis (CA), Ethnography of Speaking (ES), Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) were all used in an eclectic attempt to account for participants' behaviour in the conversations.

7.1 *Setting/Ends*

Setting and Ends, two of the analytical categories envisaged in Ethnography of Speaking were brought to bear on the data with a view to explaining conversation patterns (Hymes 1986/2005:10-15). The Setting category seemed particularly appropriate since it has been asserted, by Lesznyák, that this may well determine whether or not English is being used as a Lingua Franca, therefore entailing co-operative conversational behaviour (Lesznyák 2002:166). All the conversations, it will be remembered, represented simulations in which participants had to put forward individual proposals and then come to collective agreement. As a result, some conversation groups may have made their conversations resemble formal meetings, providing settings which could account for instances of convergence or divergence, perhaps impelled by interactants' perceptions of how meetings should run.

Similarly, the Ends, or purpose of the simulated conversation could perhaps provide some participants with a reason for divergent behaviour: in order to play the simulation game according to the given rules, they clearly needed to fulfil transactional goals and, therefore, behave in divergent ways.

Within the meeting setting, the 'Chair' figure has particular significance and the establishing or emergence of a Chair figure was a further factor to be considered when attempting to account for convergent or divergent behaviour. A Chairperson might well tend to use more convergent turns than an ordinary member of the group, irrespective of whether or not the conversation is an EWL one or one among more homogeneous peers.

7.2 Interpersonal explanations

While the meeting setting and the transactional goals could be used to account for some of the convergent and divergent behaviour in the conversations, interpersonal explanations provided an analytical framework which was potentially much richer.

In dealing with conversation turns, attention was therefore paid to personal factors such as age, sex/gender and background culture. While in some instances, these factors might be considered deterministically, in an Ethnography of Speaking framework, they might also, following a more SFL approach, be thought of as being constructed by participants' use of language (Eggins and Slade 1997:51).

7.2.1 Deterministic approaches

In a crudely deterministic way, the results of the preliminary discussions and listening and questionnaires were referred to in the process of explaining conversational behaviour: where participants had perceived of themselves as native speakers or non-native speakers, as having or not having ownership of and authority over English, as being more or less proficient at English, more or less friendly and

mature than other participants, due consideration was taken in accounting for turns in the conversations. A brief account is given, in Chapter 6, of the discussions and questionnaire results in order to clarify later references to them.

In an equally essentialist mode, participants' gender and background culture might be used to explain conversational behaviour: as with aforementioned factors, it was thought important to consider these areas as possible explanations, alongside the impelling factor constituted by the difference between EWL and English used in a more homogeneous group.

As far as gender is concerned, some reference was made to Lakoff inasmuch as a convergent speech style might be accounted for by her findings concerning gender and power. Lakoff specifically remarks on, for example, tag questions and hedges, two of the annotated phenomena in the present data, under the convergence heading; for Lakoff, these features mark out a more feminine, less powerful style (Lakoff 2003).

Other conversational features might be accounted for by in a similar way by reference to participants' cultural backgrounds. Scollon and Scollon, referred to above (Chapter 4, Section 2.2.2) identify culturally-located speech styles: a 'solidarity' style is associated with 'Western' cultures, while a 'deference' style belongs to 'the East' (Scollon and Scollon 1983). 'Solidarity and deference' have also been referred to as 'involvement and considerateness' (Tannen 1984, 1989, 1990) 'connection and autonomy' (Green 1992), 'acceptance and self-determination' or 'interpersonal and personal interpersonal face' (Janney and Arndt 1992). Scollon and Scollon also consider what they call 'discourse strategies', identifying two basic types, corresponding to the binary division between conversational styles. A 'deference' (considerateness) style complements an 'inductive' discourse strategy, in

which speakers give reasons and explanations before making their main point. This contrasts with a 'deductive' strategy, aligned to a 'solidarity' (involvement) conversational style, in which speakers first make their point and then back it up with explanations.

Where a number of scholars have focused on the difference between 'East' and 'West' stereotypes, less attention has been paid to 'North' and 'South' approaches to conversation style. Nevertheless, it was felt important when explaining turns in this data to take some account, however crudely, of a stereotypical difference which might inform participants' attitudes towards each other and, therefore, their use of convergent or divergent behaviour. Many of the contributors to Boëtsch and Villain-Gandossi, for example, highlight and document the 'North-South' construction and the concomitant oppositions of civilisation/barbarism, modernity/archaism, progress/stasis which might affect turns in international conversations where participants identify each other as belonging to the 'North' or the 'South' (Boëtsch and Villain-Gandossi 2001).

Finally, participants might choose to play different cultural cards in an attempt to assert power over each other. Social structures might be called into account, therefore, to explain divergent conversational behaviour, where participants are clearly unequal or where they strive to highlight their inequality to their advantage. Thus the Interactional Sociolinguistics framework suggested by, for example, Scollon and Scollon, might be supplanted by a Critical Discourse Analysis one, in which discursive differences express power relationships (Fairclough 1989, 1992, 1995a and b).

7.2.2 Constructionist approaches

The CDA approach to explaining conversation sequences seems to lead towards a constructionist approach: while participants' turns might be determined, in an essentialist way, by their gender and cultural backgrounds, they might also construct their gender and cultural identity in the process of conversing, assuming or relinquishing power into the bargain while they assert themselves as they wish to be seen.

Instances of convergent or divergent conversational behaviour were, therefore, occasionally considered as part of attempts to construct gender or cultural background, following studies more recent than Lakoff's and Scollon and Scollon's (e.g. Holmes and Meyerhoff 2003) and following Stokoe's advice to attempt to understand how participants 'constitute the world, themselves, and other people' in their talk (Stokoe 2005).

In this way, a return is suggested from Interactional Sociolinguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis to the earlier-established disciplines of Conversation Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics. The former, with its focus on micro-analysis and sequence patterns, preferred and dispreferred second parts in adjacency pairs, might provide a framework for explaining gender and cultural roles under construction, where Interactional Sociolinguistics and CDA offer explanations according to pre-established world views (Garfinkel 1967, Sacks 1974, Goffman 1967, 1971, 1981). The latter similarly accepts that social life 'requires the continual renegotiation of our places within the world' (Eggins and Slade 1997:51).

In explaining participants' convergent or divergent behaviour by referring to the construction of cultural identities, the overall process may neatly be brought back to the major aim of the analysis: the characterisation of EWL: whether participants in

EWL conversations seek to construct cultural identities at variance with other participants or in harmony with them must surely be a central concern. One of the hypotheses examined in Chapter Four suggests that, in the absence of native speakers, an ELF culture is constructed in international settings. Additional hypotheses, inclusive of native speakers, might now also be tested and, taking due account of essentialist determining factors, proved or disproved.

8 *Three explanatory formats*

In order to explain the data as rigorously as possible, three different formats are given in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 respectively. In Chapter 7, two conversations are analysed in contrast to each other. The first is an international conversation while the second is a homogeneous one. One of the speakers in the international conversation is also present in the homogeneous one. The two conversations are analysed turn by turn, with reference to the annotation coding and the explanatory categories given above. Preliminary conclusions are then drawn.

In Chapter 8, the remaining nine international and eight homogeneous conversations are considered, firstly by showing quantitative results of the annotation effort: instances of convergent and divergent behaviour in all conversations are listed and tabulated. In the second place, the explanatory framework explored for the two conversations in Chapter 7 is used to account for behaviour in the remaining conversations.

Chapter 9 concludes the analytical series by proposing a third format in which six individual participants are contrasted with each other in three pairs. The individuals have been chosen as broadly representative of familiar cultural categories. Each individual appeared in both an international and a homogeneous conversation: their conversational behaviour in each of these is logged, tabulated and explained.

These three analytical chapters are preceded, it will be remembered, by a brief overview of the preliminary discussions and questionnaires.

Chapter Six

Results: preliminary discussions and questionnaires

1. Introduction

This Chapter reports the results of the preliminary discussions and of the listening and questionnaire investigations.

The discussions will be dealt with first, and issues arising from them, pertaining to native speakers and non-native speakers and their ownership of and authority over English will be highlighted. This first section will close with a view of how the participants in the discussions viewed interactions between native and non-native speakers.

The second part of the chapter will look at the perceptions and attitudes of individual participants in international conversations. It will examine the results of preliminary questionnaires completed by participants while listening to their co-interactants.

2. Discussions

It has been noted that the native speaker construct is central in arguments about symmetry and asymmetry in EWL interactions (Chapter 4); native speakers are thought to have ownership of and authority over Standard English, leaving non-native speakers feeling disempowered in unequal relationships. To an extent, this explains the exclusion of native speakers from ELF research where it has been found that, freed from feelings of inadequacy and the requirement to accommodate to native speakers, freed from negative feelings aroused by native speakers' use of Foreigner Talk, non-native speakers can create and sustain comity and co-operativeness among themselves.

In this thesis, the difficulty of identifying native speakers has been signalled, as well as the possibility that interactions between native speakers and non-native speakers may not necessarily be characterised by asymmetry. With this in mind, seven

preliminary discussions were set up among people, many of whom were later to take part in the data-providing EWL conversations (Appendix E). As outlined in Chapter 6, the discussions were prompted by questions (Appendix B), recorded and roughly transcribed (Appendix K). Some analysis of these discussions now follows.

2.1 The native speaker construct

While a couple of self-described native speakers concluded that they could not be otherwise, given that they were monolingual users of English (D3: 4, 7), others grappled with the notion of native-speakerness by referring, explicitly or implicitly, to inheritance and nationality on the one hand, and language proficiency on the other.

2.1.1 Inheritance and nationality

Many participants followed the received wisdom that being a native speaker has to do with where you were born, who your parents are or were and the fact that you absorbed English as a child. People describing themselves as non-native speakers differentiated themselves from native speakers in this way, either by lack of early childhood acquisition (D4:1-3, 151-2; D5:68), by lack of inheritance (D3:36-37; D7:42-44) or by nationality (D1:2-6; D2:4, 20; D3: 3, 6, 15; D4:95; D6: 57-60; D7: 20-22, 30). The connection between native speakers and the traditional ENL countries transpired in many discussions: participants identifying themselves as non-native speakers tended to associate native speaker features with the countries of the UK, with Canada and with America (D1:116-7; 188-201; D4:79-86; D5:76-77).

Whereas for some people the three ideas (of early childhood acquisition, inheritance and nationality) were simply interconnected (D2:4-6, 19-20), for others, they were quite separate: one African participants considered herself a mother tongue user of

English because of the early childhood acquisition criterion (D7:1-7); her claim was rejected by co-nationals because, it seems, she failed the inheritance and nationality criterion (D1:34-46). The rejection seemed quite vehement, as if the participant in question had somehow betrayed her own roots by calling herself a mother-tongue speaker. She did not, however, consider English to be 'her' language. A similar differentiation between native language and owned language was evident in other participants, one born and brought up in England, with African parents (D3: 28-33), another, an African bringing up a child in Britain (D1:24-33)

The complexities surrounding the terms, reported in the discussions, reflect those in the scholarly material reviewed in Chapter 3, Section 4.1.1

2.1.2 Proficiency

Participants identifying themselves as non-native speakers gave a range of explanations for their self-attributed status, which had to do with their proficiency in English relative to native speakers. Alternatively, in more general terms, those calling themselves non-native speakers identified particular language traits as markers of native speakers.

Specific items were mentioned such as accent (D4: 85; D5: 73-81), use of idioms (D1: 188-201; D4: 35-49) and breadth of vocabulary (D5: 106-111) and in more general terms, these people thought of themselves, variously, as being less efficient readers (D4: 29-38) and as having less control and a smaller ability to paraphrase (D1: 335-337).

At a deeper level, self-identifying non-native speakers considered that they did not have the intuitions that native speakers have (D4: 51-53; D7: 448-449) and that their use of English came less naturally (D4: 44-49; D5: 108-11). One self-styled non-

native speaker disagreed, however, claiming that her use of English was perfectly natural (D1:342).

These observations concur in part with the pronouncements of scholars. It will be remembered that Coppieters actually identified native speakers for his research by attending to their accent and then decided that intuitions provided the key, while Davies used the 'control' criterion as a major way of separating native speakers from non-native (Chapter 3, Section 4.1.1)

2.2 Ownership and authority

The basis for asymmetry in international conversations involving both sorts of speaker has been held as having to do with native speaker ownership of and authority over Standard English. This entails native speakers being the models for learners of English.

The question of ownership, when it came up in the discussions, was, naturally, often tied to the notion of inheritance. Mention has already been made to participants referring to 'their' language as the language of their parents, even where they did not speak it themselves, or spoke it less well than English (D7:1-7). A self-defined non-native speaker confirmed that she might learn how to speak English naturally by dint of staying in an English-speaking environment without ever calling English 'her' language (D1:59-64).

One non-native speaker felt that, after a lengthy stay in America, English became her language (D4: 29-35) but gave the impression that this was a temporary state of affairs; another participant, already referred to above, considered herself a mother-tongue user of English while disowning the language almost vehemently (D7: 368-73).

Some self-declared native-speakers claimed ownership through the inheritance path, but, at the same time, wanted to clarify that they did not have sole proprietary rights: in using the possessive adjective, they indicated that English had been, as it were, handed down to them, but that this did not mean people from other countries were to be somehow excluded from rights:

R Can I pick up on this? She said, sorry I am not using your names but.. too many names to learn. You said you don't think of it as 'my'... you don't say 'my'. Anyone else feel that? So that's the second question. Do you think of English as your language. Do you say 'my' language?

S7 Yes I do.

S6 No because people from other countries still speak this language as well so it's not just our language, it's... everyone can speak it...
(.....)

R And for you, English is 'my' language.

S7 Well I suppose it's because it's what I was brought up with, both parents coming from London. It's... that is their language, their native language.

R But there are another two people here who come from the same situation as you I guess, for whom English is... they wouldn't say it's 'my' language.

Sus Well I didn't mean it in that way, I meant, you know obviously it's my native tongue, it's what I speak but I don't feel that I have ownership of that language, that other people from other countries can't speak it, can't use it, you know, I wouldn't be critical if somebody

S7 Oh no, I don't think that's what we meant.

Sus You know, it's a leading question really.

S7 I don't think we meant that it was just ours and nobody else should use it.
It's just the language that we speak and therefore it is our...

Sus ..your native tongue.

D3 21-47

In Chapters 3 and 4, the evident connection between ownership and authority was noted to further emphasise perceptions that interactions between native and non-native speakers of English are likely to be asymmetrical in nature. The issue of authority arose fairly frequently in the discussions, particularly where it affected the question of good or bad language models.

One American native speaker opined that she and her co-nationals, unlike non-native users, spoke English correctly (D2: 546-8) and another argued, albeit jokingly, that Americans should have authority over English since they constitute the majority group of native speakers (D2: 161-71).

One self-styled non-native speaker affirmed that native speakers should assume responsibility for the language:

Ric I think it's the responsibility of the native speakers. They have the language, as it were. To us it's kind of handed down. So they have it at its source. And I think it's in the interests also to proceed to the preservation of the language you know in terms of how it is spoken....

D1: 355-9

In the main, however, participants on either side of the native speaker/non-native speaker divide agreed that native speakers did not provide the best models for good English. On the one hand, many non-native speakers considered the native speakers in the participant pool to be dialect users, ineffective in Standard English (D5: 304-324) and many more paid particular attention to native speakers' pronunciation, which they considered, again, to be nonstandard (D1:265-275), while their own pronunciation had been perfected by schooling (D3: 201-207; D5:123-4; D7:81-84).

On the other hand, the native speakers in the discussions were mostly in agreement that they were not to be counted on as authoritative models. Some said that they had been taught Standard English at school (D3: 192-197; D5: 346-349) but that they did not habitually use standard pronunciation and would not normally want to (D3: 212-9).

Finally, when asked if native speakers could correct their English, non-native speakers gave mixed replies: while some thought that any native speaker might correct them (D7: 283-287), others were more choosy (D7: 277-280) and one considered that she could correct most of the native speakers she came into contact with (D4: 105-110).

2.3 Asymmetrical interactions

As has been seen, the discussion transcripts show that most participants could substantiate differences between native and non-native speakers, but that the criteria for doing so were far from clear-cut. They also show that authority over and ownership of Standard English was not, in the main, attributable to native speakers. Nevertheless, perceptions of possible asymmetry in international communication involving native and non-native speakers were many and varied.

Some native speakers admitted to frustration at hearing non-native speakers among the participants: their use of English was thought of as 'off' or 'slow' (D2: 250-254; 545-550) but others said they were tolerant of all users, provided they could be understood (D2: 552-555).

Some non-native speakers felt that they were rejected by native speakers: in line with the 'social club' view of native-speakerness, expressed by Singh (Chapter 3, Section

4.1.1), they felt that there were social barriers in place because of their accent (D1: 145-153; D4: 79-86) or because of lack of cultural awareness (D7: 202-205).

Others simply felt discomfort in using English, seemingly paralleling the loss of confidence in the anecdotes reported in Chapter 4, Section 2.2.2. (D6: 361-362; D7: 24-29). The discomfort became, for some, a stronger sense of feeling ridiculed by native speakers, especially because of pronunciation differences (D3: 201-211; D5: 117-124).

Perhaps in reaction to this, and other similar native-speaker attitudes, some native speakers seemed to stand aloof, considering themselves superior users of English (D1: 265-275, 289-295). One non-native speaker expressed her sense of superiority by reporting an experience in which she felt she had been patronised by a native speaker (D4: 359-369).

2.4 Summary

For the participants in this research project, there were, then experiences of asymmetry in international and intercultural communication involving native and non-native speakers. Reflecting scholarly interest in the area, the participants' perceptions of what does or does not constitute a native speaker were varied and sometimes confused while there was general consent that, however they may be defined, native speakers do not have much authority over spoken English, inasmuch as they do not provide good models of the standard version. The perceptions of asymmetry seemed, in the main, to have more to do with simple social distinctions and perceived linguistic inadequacies.

3. Listening and questionnaires

As a further preliminary to gathering conversation data, participants were put into international groups and then asked, individually, to record two monologues. The monologues were then played back to other group members who had to rate each of their co-members in terms of friendliness, responsibility and maturity. They also had to say if they thought their own level of English was higher or lower than what they heard from each co-member (See Chapter 6, Section 3.2 and Appendix D). As far as possible, participants had not met each other at this stage. Results of the process are given here for each group: only opinions where there was consensus, or near consensus are reported.

3.1 Group 1

Nickname	Language	Nationality	Sex	Age	Dis	Hom
Stavros	Greek	Cypriot	M	23	X	GR
Gauri	Hindi	Indian	F	19	X	X
Comfort	English	Nigerian	F	25	D1, D5	NI
Anne	German	German	F	25	X	GE

Stavros and Gauri were both accorded high levels of maturity and responsibility by their co-members. Comfort was considered to have a lower language level than all other group members.

3.2 Group 2

Nickname	Language	Nationality	Sex	Age	Dis	Hom
Derek	Dutch/Flemish	Belgian	M	21	X	X
Bayeh	Amharic	Ethiopian	M	37	X	X
Ping	Chinese	Chinese	F	29	X	CH
Yang	Chinese	Chinese	M	20	X	X

Derek was considered to have a high level of maturity and responsibility while Ping was considered to have a higher language level than any of her co-members.

3.3 Group 3

Nickname	Language	Nationality	Sex	Age	Dis	Hom
Ahmed	Arabic	Lebanon	M	27	D7	x
Lina	Norwegian	Norwegian	F	25	x	NO
David	Yoruba	Nigerian	M	19	D5	x
Ke	Chinese	Chinese	M	21	x	x

Lina was considered by her fellow group members as having a higher language level than them. Ke was singled out as seeming of relatively low maturity and responsibility and as having a lower language level than the other group participants.

3.4 Group 4

Nickname	Language	Nationality	Sex	Age	Dis	Hom
Richard	English	Nigerian	M	24	D1	x
Bai	Chinese	Chinese	F	19		CH
Kris	Norwegian	Norwegian	M	23	x	x
S3	Japanese	Japanese	F	19	x	x
Pallu	Hindi	Mauritius	F	22	x	x

Richard and Pallu were considered, by their fellow group members, to have a high level of maturity, responsibility and friendliness. Bai was thought of as having a lower level of language proficiency than the others.

3.5 Group 5

Nickname	Language	Nationality	Sex	Age	Dis	Hom
Ana	Cantonese	Malaysian	F	43	D6	
Chat	Cantonese	Chinese HK	M	21	D6	
Susy	English	British	F	30	D3	EN
Lei	Chinese	Chinese	F	23	X	CH

Ana, Lei and Susy were all considered to have a high level of maturity and responsibility; Susy and Ana were also thought of as being very friendly and Susy was singled out as having a higher level of language than the others. Chat was thought of as having a lower language level than the others.

3.6 Group 6

Nickname	Language	Nationality	Sex	Age	Dis	Hom
Milne	English	American	M	19	D2	AM
Hao	Chinese	Chinese	M	23	x	x
Sofia	German	German	F	25	x	GE
Javier	Spanish +	Eq. Guinea	M	23	x	x
Hedda	Norwegian	Norwegian	F	19	x	NO

Both Milne and Hao were thought of as having a higher language level than the other group members. Hedda was considered to be not very mature and responsible while Sofia was considered to be not very friendly.

3.7 Group 7

Nickname	Language	Nationality	Sex	Age	Dis	Hom
Anja	Russian	Russian	F	30	x	X
Claude	French	French	F	22	D7	X
Greta	German	German	F	53	X	GE
Magda	Polish	Polish	F	38	D4	X
Betty	English	British	F	55	X	EN

Betty was considered to have a high level of maturity and responsibility. No other group member was singled out in any special way.

3.8 Group 8

Nickname	Language	Nationality	Sex	Age	Dis	Hom
Haluk	Turkish	Turkish	M	19	X	X
Mary	French	Mauritius	F	20	X	X
Yong	Chinese	Chinese	M	20	X	X
Joseph	Ibo	Nigerian	M	19	D1	NI

In this group, Joseph and Mary were both thought of as having a high level of responsibility and maturity, while both Mary and Yong were considered to be very friendly by their peers. Yong was judged to have a lower level of language than the other members of the group.

3.9 Group 9

Nickname	Language	Nationality	Sex	Age	Dis	Hom
Boon	Thai	Thai	M	22	X	X
John	Czech	British	M	31	D3	EN
Sammi	Farsi	Iranian	F	24	X	X
Angela	Greek	Greek	F	19	X	X
Xing	Chinese	Chinese	F	19	X	CH

John and Sammi were considered by their co-group members to have a high level of responsibility and maturity and to have a high language level. John was also thought of as being friendly, a characteristic he was perceived to share with Boon. Angela was thought of as having a low level of responsibility and maturity, while both Boon and Xing were considered to have a low language level.

3.10 Group 10

Nickname	Language	Nationality	Sex	Age	Dis	Hom
Shray	Hindi	Indian	M	23	X	IN
Qing	Chinese	Chinese	F	19	X	CH
Sarraj	Sinhalese	SriLankan	M	23	X	X
Fang	Chinese	Chinese	F	19	D7	CH
Mala	Farsi	Iranian	F	22	X	X

In this group, Mala was considered to have a high level of responsibility and maturity, while Sarraj was thought of as having a high language level.

3.11 Summary

While the opinions of individual group members will be useful in explaining upcoming conversation data on a group-by-group basis, it is nevertheless interesting to note a few patterns in the questionnaire responses.

Firstly, there are very few consensual negative opinions given. This outcome might support conversation data which shows tendencies towards co-operativeness and comity.

Secondly, high language status is accorded to a disparate set of participants: Susy and John are traditional native speakers, while Sarraj would be traditionally classified as an ESL user and Lina, Ping and Sammi as EFL users. Other native speakers (Betty, Milne and, possibly, Mary, are not accredited with high language status by a consensus or near consensus of peer-group opinion.

Those thought of as having a low language ability are nearly all from Eastern countries, mainly China, but also Thailand. The exception is Comfort who, paradoxically, gave English as her predominant language.

4. Conclusion

This chapter has given some results of the preliminary surveys, intended to help with the upcoming analysis of the conversation data.

The first survey seems to show that asymmetries are likely to be present in international conversations involving both native and non-native speakers, while the second survey does not reveal any overarching tendencies. It may help, nevertheless, to account for conversational behaviour in conversations among particular groups.

The following three chapters will report the international and homogeneous conversations, making occasional use of the foregoing results in the analysis and explanation.

Chapter Seven

Results: A comparison between an international and an intranational conversation

1. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with an analysis and comparison of two of the recorded conversations: one international and one homogeneous.

The EWL conversation is the one among members of group 6. A transcription is given in Appendix L; the homogeneous conversation is conversation NO, among Norwegian speakers; a transcript is given in Appendix M. Conversation 6 was chosen since it included a native speaker and other speakers from the ‘North’ as well as one speaker from the ‘South’ and one from the ‘East’. Table 1 below gives a little more detail.

Nickname	Language	Nationality	Sex	Age	Dis	Hom
Milne	English	American	M	19	D2	AM
Hao	Chinese	Chinese	M	23	x	x
Sofia	German	German	F	25	x	GE
Javier	Spanish +	Eq. Guinea	M	23	x	x
Hedda	Norwegian	Norwegian	F	19	x	NO

Table 1: Membership of EWL Group 6

Homogeneous conversation NO was chosen because it includes one of the speakers in Conversation 6. Full membership is given in Table 2 below.

Nickname	Language	Nationality	Sex	Age	Dis	Inter
Birgit	Norwegian	Norwegian	F	23	x	x
Gerda	Norwegian	Norwegian	F	24	x	x
Hedda	Norwegian	Norwegian	F	19	x	6
Karen	Norwegian	Norwegian	F	22	x	x
Lina	Norwegian	Norwegian	F	25	x	3

Table 2: Membership of (homogeneous) Group NO

For analytical and explanatory purposes, use will be made of the annotation labels and explanatory apparatus outlined in Chapter 5 (a list of annotation labels is given

in Appendix J); where appropriate, reference will also be made to any points which emerged in Chapter 6.

Each conversation is examined in detail and at the end of each analysis an attempt will be made to summarise the findings. Finally, comparisons and contrasts will be drawn between the two conversations.

2. EWL Conversation 6

The conversation begins between Sofia and Javier. While Sofia seems to want to establish an maintain an atmosphere of comity, Javier’s approach is not so clear-cut. Sofia’s style is characterised by involvement, while Javier begins by distancing himself:

1	Sof:	My idea is to spend the money for clean and decorate all the areas
2		the VIP will visit.
3	Jav:	Yes. How much that going to cost?

The two participants continue with their different approaches. Sofia’s persistence with a more collaborative conversational style is expressed by her use of hedging (4: ‘I think’) and vagueness (4: ‘about ten, five to ten’) and her use of humour, constructed by the prosody of line 11, which is heavily rhythmic: the rhythm of the first five syllables is repeated exactly in the second five, there is a rising pitch change and high key on ‘me’, a falling change and low key on ‘you’ (11). Later, she starts to offer a concession (16-19) and explicitly agrees with Javier’s point of view (20-21). She continues to use laughter (24) in what seems to be a continued attempt at establishing comity.

16	Sof:	@If the area is not too big, that we, then we don't need@...uh...so much
17		money-
18	Jav:	Uhm. Uhm.
19	Sof:	to decorate and clean the places.

20	Jav:	Yeah. I mean decorate and clean is important but the security staff is
21		important too.
22	Sof:	Yes, it's important..
23	Jav:	Because they have to feel safe, isn't it?
24	Sof:	@@@

Sofia continues in the same vein, deploying several means by which she presumably hopes to establish greater comity: hedging (29 ‘maybe’) laughter (30) and an ‘inclusive’ question (29-30). This is followed up, a few turns later, with a suggestion (38-39) clearly marked to show how her argument against spending money on security is overlaid by her desire for comity: the suggestion is delivered in question form, it contains two negatives and it has a fall-rise pitch change on the tonic ‘own’.

38	Sof:	You don't think that the VIP, important person uhm not has security of
39		his own?

Meanwhile, Javier appears to complement the distancing style of his opening by the use of an inductive strategy for putting forward his own suggestion. He does this by laying out his reasons before stating how he wants to spend money and how much (5-9). His use of ‘I think’ (8) is, prosodically, clearly not a hedge but rather a reinforcement of his opinion and his use of ‘might’ suggests genuine uncertainty rather than studied vagueness.

5	Jav:	Uh, I think it's important to...do arrangement for the security
6		because this (is a visit) important . the person, so you need more
7		security in case there's an accident...might happen (by the)
8		University. So I think we should spend more money on the security
9		staff. That might cost around five thousand, so it can combine it
10		between (what you're talking and...)-

Despite occasional signs of wanting to build a relationship of comity through the use of inclusive questions (35 ‘isn’t it?’, 41 ‘yeah?’), concessions (40) and seeming linguistic accommodation to Sofia’s ‘security of his own’ (29) which emerges as ‘security at your own’ (41), he nevertheless maintains his distance by speaking too

quickly for Sofia and appearing to want to close his case without further discussion (55-6), indicating that he has not really responded to Sofia’s interactional openings and prefers to remain quite distant at this stage.

45	Sof:	@Slowly please@
46	Jav:	is going to be-
47	Sof:	I can't understand
48	Jav:	Yeah. It's going to be the University who going to get the blame. If the
49		security is not very good
50	Sof:	Uh-uh
51	Jav:	even if the person haves his own security and he come to visit this
52		University, is University's obligation to keep the person safe. Now I
53		think uh-
54	Sof:	OK.
55	Jav:	So that (I know I think) That is my idea, so Five thousand is very good
56		price. For the project ten thousand so-
57	Sof:	How, how many people do you expect?
58	Jav:	Uh How many people?
59	Sof:	@@@
60	Jav:	I don't know how many people So one very very important person and
61		many of his staff.

Hao enters the conversation with ‘OK’ (69) to create the space for his turn and perhaps to establish his right to an opinion. He appears to use a deductive strategy, starting by stating how much he wants to spend and going on, at a second stage, to explain why. His style is clearly an ‘involvement’ one: he goes on to make approving remarks in response to others and seems to want to engage their ‘positive face’.

Hao clearly establishes himself as a co-operative interactant by making a joke (80) and the others respond in a similarly co-operative way by laughing (81). Hao continues in a similar vein, using hedges (83, 91 ‘kind of’) vagueness (83 ‘or something’) and a downtoner (84 ‘just’) to continue with his topic.

80	Hao:	I think the job is done
81	ALL:	, @@@
82	Jav:	(.....) So you are going to have-
83	Hao:	My plan was kind of to raise a banquet or something but you spent

84		all the money so it just-
85	Jav:	Well that this is our, our idea, yeah, where we think-
86	Hao:	No matter how, how secure the security are or as how beautiful the
87		place is, you still needs to some food or drink. You don't want your
88		just important guest to just stay around and spend all day and thirsty
89		very hungry. You don't want that.

Hao's general style is characterised by involvement, made explicit by his insistent use of inclusive 'you' and by his response in high involvement terms, appearing to approve Javier's position (101 'Yeah, security is important, I think') and then to establish (male?) solidarity between them by suggesting that, together, they turn on Sofia (105).

Javier adopts a more co-operative behaviour towards Hao than he did with Sofia: he offers a concession (78), which he reiterates (93-4) and agrees explicitly with Hao's proposal. Even when he challenges Hao he does so in a co-operative style, typified by his use of an inclusive question (96 'yeah'). A possible explanation for this change is that Javier is now dealing with another man and may feel that he can make a concession to him, where he could not have done to a woman. It is also worth noting that Hao was given a high language rating by the rest of the group, possibly also accounting for Javier's possible deference to him (See Chapter 6 above).

Hedda enters the conversation (111) expressing her desire for convergence through vague language (114, 117), by distancing herself from her cue-card, by explicit agreement and a collaborative turn (121-2).

114	Hed:	I don't know how much we are going to spend on the movie because
115		we need a crew.
116	Jav:	So how much is it going to cost?
117	Hed:	Yeah, it says about five thousand.
118	Hao:	Five thousand.
119	Jav:	That's quite a lot, isn't it?
120	All:	@@@
121	Sof:	Quite a lot-
122	Hed:	For a movie.

Hedda is followed into the conversation by Milne, who, by initially using an inductive strategy (155-165), perhaps to establish his authority, seems rather distant. The laughter of the other interactants (162) may be a way to try to engage him, as may Javier's immediate expression of agreement (166-167).

155	Mil:	I think we need to consider the reason that the very important person is
156		coming, and that's to attend a conference and do a presentation event
157		and that that needs to be I think at the bottom of the budget what we
158		spend. And the conference and presentation, uh, together with the
159		microphones and speakers and everything, and everything that you
160		need to have at something like that is going to cost two thousand
161		dollars, or two thousand pounds, I mean-
162	All:	@@@
163	Mil:	So we uh, we have to have the presentation event; that's why he's
164		coming and maybe we can cut costs on it, less than two thousand, but,
165		to start, we've got to have that, at the bottom.
166	Jav:	Yeah. I think that's a very important thing because the visit is for the
167		conference, yeah. Then the-

When he re-enters the discussion (180) Milne seems to assume a position of authority: he may deem himself to have gained this through his earlier inductive strategy; he did not share some of his co-nationals' sense of authority vis-à-vis non-native speakers during the preliminary discussion phase (D2) but was thought of as having a relatively high language level (Chapter 6, Section 3.6). He seems to be leading a summary of the proposed expenditure (180-192) and Hao, Javier and Hedda seem to collude in his self-positioning, or at least to provide the background atmosphere of agreement: Javier gives several backchannelling signals (181, 185, 189) while Hao provides a collaborative turn (183) and Hedda supporting laughter (190).

180	Mil:	We spend two thousand on the banquet, right?
181	Jav:	Yeah
182	Mil:	Two thousand on the presentation.
183	Hao:	Two thousand on the presentation
184	Mil:	And we have to have some sort of security.

185	Jav:	Yeah
186	Hao:	Yes.
187	Mil:	We have to have something. Because you don't want to embarrass the
188		University.
189	Jav:	The University, yeah. So-
190	Hed:	@@@

Milne persists in his authority role at a later stage, presenting himself as playing the pivotal role of the person who will sort out the way the overall sum will be distributed. ‘Let’s say’ (201) seems to set the tone of conciliation and his question ‘What’s your bottom line?’ (201-2) is suggested, by the negotiation-meeting framework, as one fitting a no-nonsense negotiator.

There then follows a sequence showing Milne accommodating to Sofia, with a little support from Hao (203-210). Sofia does not understand the expression ‘bottom line’, leading Milne to repeat it, echoed by Hao in a collaborative turn (204-5), and then to rephrase it, firstly in a fairly direct way (206 ‘the least you can do it for’) and immediately afterwards in a more indirect way (206-207 ‘The least it can be done for’). Sofia checks her understanding with a clarification question (208-210) which Milne confirms (209).

201	Mil	Let's say we need decorations and we need it cleaned up. What's your
202		bottom line?
203	Sof:	What's my what?
204	Mil:	What is the bottom line. What, what's the
205	Hao:	bottom line, yes
206	Mil:	least you can do it for? The least
207		it can be done for?
208	Sof:	The lowest, uh-
209	Mil:	Yeah
210	Sof:	price? Four thousand.
211	Mil:	Four thousand.
212	All:	@@@

At this stage, Sofia reiterates her proposal in a decidedly divergent manner, picking up perhaps from her bald rejection of Hedda’s suggestion a little earlier (198-200).

She highlights her proposal without recourse to softeners of any kind (214-218), setting a tone which is taken up by Javier, who replies in an equally divergent way (219-220) and by Milne, who, setting aside his negotiator role, which he does not take up again, defends instead his own proposal, the budget for which he has reduced. He seems to want to give an impression of intransigence on his modified proposal (223 'it's got to be at least fifteen hundred'). Still tending to towards divergence, Javier reiterates his topic (232), and Hao, in a similar vein, decides to challenge Sofia (233-4) who persists without concession to comity (238 'we have to...').

Hao provides a counter proposal to Sofia's which he marks with a vagueness expression (242 'or something') and a colloquialism (242 'quid', 243 'clean this up'). In deploying these two devices, he may be trying to restore a sense of collaboration. An alternative explanation is that he is assuming a superior posture and using vagueness and colloquial language to belittle Sofia's position.

He seems to be supported in his anti-Sofia stance by Javier, who produced collaborative turns with Hao a little earlier (233-237) and who now appears to collaborate with Hao in belittling Sofia, suggesting she reduce her claim from four thousand to four hundred, which, after protest, he adjusts up to eight hundred. (244-246).

Sofia laughs at this in a good-natured way (248) and continues to use laughter throughout the rest of the conversation to soften her otherwise divergent style: while she seemed to want to achieve comity with Javier at the beginning, she now focuses on her transactional goal, perhaps in reaction to the combined forces of Hao, Javier and Milne. The prosody of 'You have two thousand' (261) makes her sound quite aggressive, as does her turn in response to Hao's support for money towards film-making (273-4).

271	Mil:	Is it worth making a movie if we only put a thousand pounds into
272		it?
273	Hao:	Yeah. Will be. It will be.
274	Sof:	@No, we said students can do it@

She rejects the suggested switch from film-making to report-writing in a similarly divergent way, with a direct assertion and emphatic repetition (305-6).

Hedda’s response to the men is more submissive and she seems apologetic about her claim, distancing herself again from the instructions on her cue card (269).

The men, therefore, seem to dominate the last part of the discussion. Milne continues in his assumed air of diplomatic authority, appearing to want to chair the discussion. His approach seems divergent, typified by laconic, unhedged statements (251) and challenging questions (271-2).

Hao seems equally dominant but continues in his more collaborative style, using more tentative questions (260). As before, however, his apparent friendliness may be interpreted as an assertion of his power: his flippant counter-proposal to Hedda’s film-making suggestion (277), followed by his use of vague language (‘your stuff’ 281) may constitute further belittling behaviour as Hao takes up the Chair role alongside, or displacing Milne.

271	Mil:	Is it worth making a movie if we only put a thousand pounds into
272		it?
273	Hao:	Yeah. Will be. It will be.
274	Sof:	@No, we said students can do it@
275	Jav:	Yeah I think the students can do it.
276	Hed:	Then it's (..) it is embarrassing.
277	Hao:	Or you do the music.
278	S/H:	@@@
279	Hao:	The music. The movie. You've got to (...) the light.
280	Hed:	@I think you ought to do the music@
281	Hao:	Ok. Just give me one more thousand. Just forget about your stuff.
282		Yeah, it's sweet, sweet all the light, it's need to hire more security
283		personnel. You know what I mean, huh?

Javier seems happy to support his male co-participants, by markedly backchannelling and explicitly agreeing with Milne (252, 253, 255-6) and then with Hao, when he seems to have taken over the Chair role. He also makes a concession to Hao (286-292), something he was loath to do in his original two-way discussion with Sofia.

The imbalance in relationships continues until almost the end of the conversation when the participants give the impression of having had enough and so re-introduce a generally collaborative tone to their proceedings in order to wind things up quickly and in a congenial atmosphere (319-337).

2.1 Summary and further explanation

1-68.

The conversation begins with Sofia trying to establish an involvement style and an atmosphere of collaboration in which the involvement style is likely to work. She has little success with Javier, who seems to enter the conversation in a different way, using a different, contrasting style and a different, inductive discourse strategy. The pair never really achieve comity at this stage.

It may be that the two are drawing on cultural norms in their contrasting approaches. It may also be that Javier perceives Sofia to be a European, where he is African and that he refuses, even subconsciously, to 'play her game'. It may also be that he sees her as unfriendly, as the preliminary questionnaire suggested. Whereas Sofia may see the interaction as symmetrical, Javier may take the view that he has to establish his authority and his right to speak in an asymmetrical relationship. Finally, his

response to Sofia may be explained by his need to establish himself as a man, opposite a woman.

Sofia, on the other hand, seems to modify her strategy slightly, perhaps in relation to Javier, having found that her original plan did not work. Perhaps because she started the conversation in the first place, or perhaps because she situates herself as European, interacting with an African, she seems to give herself the authority to control the conversational style. Javier does not allow her to develop this, however.

69-108

Hao uses a deductive discourse strategy and a high involvement style from his first entry. He does not fit, therefore, the stereotype for Chinese ('East') users of English who are considered to be typically high considerateness speakers and to use inductive discourse strategies (Chapter 5, Section 7.2.1). He constantly gives the impression of wanting to establish and maintain an atmosphere of collaboration and comity.

As such, he achieves signal success with regard to Javier who seems to co-operate with him, where he did not give the appearance of wanting to do so with Sofia. Since Hao and Javier are culturally very far apart, the best explanation for the solidarity between them may be that they are both men who therefore take the opportunity jointly to oppose Sofia.

109 – 154

Hedda's entry into the conversation establishes that she wants to co-operate to the point almost of self-obliteration. Javier gives the impression of wanting to protect her, and Hao, in challenging her, is careful to do so gently. The fact that Hedda is a

northern European, like Sofia, seems, then, irrelevant. More relevant, perhaps, is the fact that she presents herself as a submissive female, a role that the two men respond to in a more receptive way than they do to the more assertive stance taken by Sofia. The preliminary questionnaires provide some correlation here: where Sofia was rated as 'unfriendly' by Javier and Hao, Hedda was rated as 'immature'.

155-337

Milne enters the discussion with what appears to be an inductive discourse strategy. Like Hao, he overturns the stereotype: Hao and Milne both behave in ways opposite to what might be expected of them. Throughout the conversation, he maintains his distance, using a considerateness conversational style, perhaps trying to build up his authority as the last entrant to the discussion. He gives the impression that he may want to be perceived as an expert negotiator, a role he eventually shares with Hao. He does not seem at all uncomfortable about sharing this authority role with Hao. The fact that Hao and Milne end up by becoming the pivots in the discussion tallies with the questionnaire results but upsets the hypothesis that native speakers would be responsible for asymmetries in this type of interaction. Both speakers were rated highly in terms of their language competence and potential language model status. On the periphery, Hao and Javier continue in their relationship of solidarity, Hedda accepts the authority of Hao and Milne, and Sofia seems to hold out in a fairly divergent style, making concessions to collaboration and acceptance of Hao's and Milne's authority only through laughter.

3 Conversation among homogeneous, Norwegian users of English

Hedda begins the discussion, using a deductive strategy and coming straight to the point. She clearly thinks she has the right, presumably conferred on her by the meeting format, to state her position and to do so directly, with no softening devices. She finishes her turn with a direct, challenging question (8). She is behaving in quite a different way, then, from how she behaved in the EWL conversation. Lina is equally businesslike, deductive and direct. She does use, however, one downtoning device (9, ‘actually’). Hedda challenges Lina head on with a rhetorical question (14-15) and Lina replies with another direct, unsoftened question (16-17).

1	Hedda	OK, uhm.... I'm going to start this, I'm going to start this, uh,
2		speech by saying that, uh, we need a good, uh, speaker system and
3		loud system and visual effects, uhm and also Khofi Annan needs
4		some interpretation service because there's going to be several
5		foreign people in the conference and he needs people to understand
6		him of course. Uh, we also need headed paper, and appropriate
7		seating for everyone. I think this is very important. I think we should
8		spend some money on this. What do you think?
9	Lin	I need a film crew actually because, uh...we need to have some
10		future references and if we th, invite a film crew who can film
11		everything during his visit, we can use it as a pr, propos, promotion
12		later on, uhm, for the school but I think it's important for increasing
13		the student number.
14	Hedda	But doesn't, don't you think that it's more important to have uh, a
15		speaker system? Because he. .
16	Lin	Yeah but how much, how much money do you need from
17		the budget?

The discussion has thus got under way without any apparent attempt by the interactants to establish any atmosphere of collaboration or comity between them. As the two participants in the discussion make rapid calculations and conclude that, taken together, their two proposals for expenditure are well under the total budget, Lina wraps things up simply (23 ‘we’re cool’) and no laughter accompanies the realisation of potential agreement between them.

Birgit enters the discussion in much the same vein as Hedda and Lina. Her strategy is slightly less deductive in that she gives reasons before going on to her proposal and finishes with the price she has in mind (24-29) but her manner is similar to the other interactants' in that she states directly what she wants. She is slightly less direct than the other two, with a hint that she is trying more than the others to establish an atmosphere of collaboration. She attempts to tone down her budgetary request (28 'quite cheap', 'just no more than') and tries to engage the others collaboratively by her use of 'you know' (27-28), the prosody of which clearly shows that it is a marker of desired inclusion.

Karen and Gerda enter the conversation in a similar way to Birgit, leading up to their budget proposals through three stages: pre-announcement, topic and proposal (34-39, 43-48). Unlike Birgit, however, Karen makes no attempt at all to soften her turn and Gerda is barely less confrontational. Karen's style is strongly 'divergent' from her presumption that her co-interactants are 'forgetting about something' (34) to her somewhat confrontational use of 'you' (rather than a task-focused or inclusive 'we'), her emphatic use of amplifiers (34 and 36 'really really', 37 'wholly', 39 'at least') and her use of the modal of obligation 'have to' (38). She rounds off her entry with a challenging 'What do you think?' (40). Hedda's laughter (42) may be a nervous reaction to this forthright approach.

34	Kar	I think you are all forgetting about something really really
35		important which should be a high priority and that's, during this
36		visit, and that's the security. I these, uh, really really terror (.....)
37		times it's wholly important that we really take good care of Khofi
38		Annan when he come here, when he comes here and have to spend
39		quite a lot of money, at least five thousand to buy good uh security
40		around him. What do you think?
41	Ger	Uh, I think the most,
42	Hed	@@@

Gerda is also direct and forthright in her opinion and proposal using ‘have to’ (44, 46), emphasising ‘*our* school’ and ‘*really good* school’ (46) and by repeating ‘the most important’ (43, 49-50). The only concession to comity comes with the minimal downtoning of her proposed expenditure (49 ‘depending on how extensive the work is’) followed up, nevertheless, by a divergent closure which does not invite any collaborative comment (49-50). Her style could be thought of, then, as ‘high considerateness’ in the sense that she states her case without seeking approval from the others.

This somewhat divergent tone to the whole conversation continues for some time, with Karen taking the lead: she clearly patronises Hedda (‘You know that’s not expensive’ 66) and the fall-rise prosody of some of her turns indicates her distancing attitude (51-52, 77-80) as does her use of direct ‘can’, rather than ‘could’ (60); she dismisses Gerda’s proposal as ‘ridiculous’ (109).

Gerda and Birgit seem to be a little more collaborative, with the former making a concession (58-9) and the latter expressing agreement with Karen (68-75, 98-99), but Lina and Hedda continue the divergent trend: Lina challenges Hedda with a direct, unhedged question (88-89) while Hedda laughs down Gerda’s proposal (54) contradicts Karen, using amplifiers to make her point, (63-65) and after a momentary climbdown (81), reasserts herself in a sequence of gainsaying which leads to an attempt at closure.

92	Kar	Yeah but they’re, they’re here, they should know
93		English.
94	Hed	No they shouldn’t.
95	Kar	Yes they should. If they’re students at our Uni all, it’s all of them
96		have to-
97	Hed	No. It’s-
98	Kar	speak English in the school.
99	Birg	I mean some of this, this university, there’s not a lot of people not
100	Hed	Yeah but there, but probably will come some important, more
101		important people-

102	Birg	Yeah but if, they probably will know English so I don't think
103		that's-
104	Kar	Bring their own translators
105	Birg	Yeah
106	Kar	Yeah.
107	Hed	OK Well I said three thousand. That's my final, final-

A more convergent phase now ensues. Karen hedges two turns, making them suggestions rather than further assertions (111 'So if you say five thousand', 113 'if we..' , 'maybe'), and Gerda responds in kind by using hedges (112, 116 'maybe') and a downtoner (116, 117 'just'). Karen and Gerda seem to come to an agreement at the end of this sequence (118-119).

Lina restates her spending proposal but prefaces it with a concession to Karen's (120-121). There follows a clarification sequence in which all the participants laugh at their shared knowledge of the importance of PR (122-125).

111	Kar	So if you say five thousand then.
112	Ger	Well I can go down to, maybe, two and a half.
113	Kar	And if we, we don't maybe we don't need the musical
114		entertainment-
115	Ger	Because, uhm, just so that we can
116		use some artificial flowers and maybe just uh repair the, just the,
117		the worst that he's go, in the areas that he's going to visit, yeah.
118	Kar	Yeah, the cleaning at the school is good, already so-
119	Ger	Yeah
120	Lin	But I think the security part is really important and I think that for
121		the school's future we need that film crew because if-
122	Kar	We need promotion?
123	Lin	Yeah
124	Birg	PR
125	Sev	PR @@@

Some divergent behaviour still persists, with Karen once again saying 'Oh that's ridiculous' (129), Birgit challenging her with 'No but listen', starting a clearly divergent turn (137-141) and Lina delivering an unsoftened emphasis of her proposal (170-2). Yet the overriding tone is one of comity: Birgit and Hedda collaborate with each other in a high involvement style, characterised by a collaborative turn and

Birgit's accommodation to Hedda's 'first impression' (154-155) while Gerda's suggestion to use music students for entertainment (158-161) is met with collaborative laughter (162) and explicit agreement (163, 168-9). Lina makes concessions to comity by prefacing the assertion referred to earlier with 'And again' (170) and by responding to Birgit in a co-operative way, toning down her budgetary request by using 'if we say' and implying that her requirement is the obvious consequence of a need which all interactants will recognise, by her use of 'so' after her inclusive 'we' (174). Financial calculations take place in an atmosphere of laughter (177), agreement and concession (178) and further proposals are hedged (180 'If we...', 184 'could probably' – a correction to 'should', 185 'I think') and agreed to explicitly (183) or implicitly through a collaborative turn (187-189).

170	Lin	And again (.....) because the film group can really show people
171		what students have been done before this meeting. So we need the
172		film crew.
173	Birg	But how much? How much can you go down to?
174	Lin	We got students as well in the, so if we say three thousand then.
175	Kar	How much are we talking about now?
176	Birg	Six. Eight and a half. Your own five. That's thirteen and a half.
177	Sev	@@@
178	Ger	Ok maybe I'll go, down even more.
179	Birg	If we spend two on the banquet and two on the-
180	Ger	If we, if we, if we use more
181		our students to decorate the school and, uh, use more students to
182		entertain-
183	Sev	Yeah
184	Ger	Then we should, could probably save some money there.
185	Birg	And I think we've got a lot of film cameras on this school so only
186		thing we need is, and we have the video studio, so all thing we
187		need is-
188	Lin	professional-
189	Birg	professional who can, really make the movie
190		afterwards. And we have the studios for them so-

This interval of more collaborative conversational behaviour ends with Gerda confronting Lina in a very direct way. Her question (200) has a rise-fall tone on the

last tonic syllable ('have'), making her turn all the more authoritarian. Lina's answer is equally confrontational (201) and Birgit joins in with a bald assertion supporting her own proposal. Hedda offers a counter-proposal, using inclusive 'we' and 'for us' (203-4) but her offer is rejected out of hand by Birgit and Karen, Karen being true to form in her use of the amplifier 'real' (207). Karen's counter proposal for the banqueting arrangements is articulated with more authority than was Hedda's: instead of the tentative question 'Are we thinking about...' (203), she makes an assertion, using 'can' instead of the more indirect 'could' and puts falling intonation onto her tag question 'can't we?' (209). Birgit also manages to sound authoritative, with her use of 'have to' and the almost verbatim repetition of her point (213), backed up with an illustration (215) and further repetition (216) justifying her budget figure.

200	Ger	You haven't decreased anything, have you?
201	Lin	Yeah I have. I started off on three so, I have decreased.
202	Birg	Well food is expensive.
203	Hed	Are we thinking about having the banquet in Hatfield House?
204		Because maybe they can make a special offer, for us.
205	Ger	Well maybe that-
206	Birg	That would be expensive
207	Kar	That would be, that would be a real expense..
208	Lin	Uh-hm.
209	Kar	We can use our auditorium or something instead, can't we?
210	Lin	Cafeteria.
211	Sev	@@@
212		(Confusion)
213	Birg	We have to appear generous. We have to seem generous.
214	Kar	Yes.
215	Birg	We can't do like, like you get just a little bit to eat and a little bit to
216		drink. It has to be generous so I think two thousand really.

Calculations take place during a brief co-operative sequence (216-231) characterised by a collaborative turn (217-219), a backchannel (227), inclusive 'we' (222), laughter (223) and clarification pairs (224-5, 228-229) which is broken by Karen

who leads the group into its last transactional push: time and tiredness take their effect and Karen's co-participants seem to force her to stop insisting.

The discussion tails off with a good deal of co-operative exchanges: Birgit expresses her solidarity with Karen by assuring her that her reduction is excessive (253) and Gerda explicitly agrees with Birgit that the latter's spending proposal is quite justified (257-258). There is laughter (260) and more agreement (268) and an admission on the part of Gerda that she has been hard to negotiate with (271). Karen's last stand (281 'As long as he brings his own security') is met with reassurances, not confrontation (282) and more laughter and agreement ensues to wind the discussion up.

3.1. Summary and further explanation

1-50

All five interactants enter the discussion with forthright statements of their proposals. While the first two use a more deductive strategy, the other three follow an inductive pattern of reasoning leading to a proposal. None of the five makes much of an attempt at establishing or maintaining comity via linguistic means: there is a noticeable lack of hedging devices, downtoners, inclusive 'you' or 'we' or modal forms 'could' and 'would', which might soften otherwise harsh assertions. Yet the overall tone of the conversation, coming through the recording more than the transcript suggests, is not one of unfriendliness. It is perhaps that the interactants have no need to express explicit co-operativeness, given that they share a common culture and another language.

51-110

The discussion, now established with five participants, continues in a very divergent way: each interactant seems keen to establish her status and authority and there is very little concession to comity at all. Participants seem to be entirely focused on the task, with no desire to achieve any interactional goal: the individual transactional goals are paramount.

111-288

The rest of the discussion moves a little away from the divergent style, with some evidence of co-operation creeping in. Any collaboration seems, however, to be in order to achieve transactional goals: interactants agree with each other and collaborate on turns in attempts, seemingly, to 'gang up' on other interactants. Alternatively, collaborative styles are used, particularly near the end, to bring matters to a close when participants may be getting weary of the proceedings.

4. Comparison of the two conversations

In most respects, the two conversations are remarkably similar: the interactants achieve the transactional goal in a similar number of words, make use of a similar vocabulary, and maintain an atmosphere of friendliness and relaxation. What appears to be different is the conversational style: while the EWL conversation is generally characterised by a convergent style, with comparatively little in the way of divergence, the Norwegian conversation is more balanced, with as much divergent behaviour as there is convergent.

4.1 Vocabulary

The total number of words in the EWL conversation is 2,264; in the conversation among Norwegian users of English it is 2,094, around one hundred and fifty fewer words.

Comparative word frequency charts of the 50 most frequent words in each conversation are given below, in Table 3. The number of occurrences is given before each word.

Word frequency (EWL Conversation 6)			Word frequency (Norwegian Conversation)		
93_the	24_important	13_but	85_we	22_that's	14_school
70_thousand	24_think	12_clean	74_and	21_important	14_three
66_to	24_for	12_much	61_i	19_he	14_because
65_yeah	22_need	12_person	55_that	19_so	13_people
61_it	21_of	12_what	49_the	19_is	13_students
49_is	21_just	12_decorate	46_to	18_of	13_much
48_and	19_uh	12_all	45_yeah	17_well	13_do
43_you	19_how	11_then	42_you	17_if	12_then
41_we	17_very	11_in	37_thousand	17_security	12_some
40_so	16_hundred	11_movie	36_think	17_they	12_no
38_i	16_it's	11_my	34_a	16_really	11_for
36_that	16_do	11_university	33_have	16_five	11_two
30_two	16_or	11_three	27_on	16_it	11_maybe
27_five	15_because	11_on	26_need	16_don't	10_be
26_have	14_don't	10_yes	24_uh	16_this	10_use
25_can	14_be	9_will	22_can	15_should	10_as
25_security	13_going	9_cost	22_but	15_how	10_spend

Table 3 Word frequencies in EWL Conversation 6 and homogeneous Norwegian conversation

As can be seen, many of the most frequent words in each case are grammatical words (articles, pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs, modal verbs), the two discourse marking items ‘yeah’ and ‘uh’ and words tightly connected to the theme of the simulation (‘thousand’, numbers, ‘security’, ‘clean’, ‘person’, ‘decorate’, ‘movie’, ‘university’, ‘school’, ‘students’, ‘spend’, ‘much’, ‘cost’). There is little noticeable difference except, perhaps, that ‘we’ is more frequent in the Norwegian conversation than in the EWL one.

Words not included in the above list are:

EWL conversation: ‘important’, ‘think’ ‘just’ and ‘very’

Norwegian conversation: ‘think’, ‘important’ ‘well’, ‘really’, ‘people’, ‘maybe’ ‘Important’ and ‘think’ have similar frequencies in the two conversations and ‘very’, in the EWL conversation is paralleled by ‘really’ in the Norwegian one. ‘Just’ is considerably less frequent in the Norwegian conversation while ‘maybe’ is the 53rd most frequent word in the EWL one. General lexical frequency differences between the two conversations appear, then to be inconclusive.

Turning to word type, frequency lists of words by category are given in Table 4 below. There are four categories, following Cobb’s ‘Compleat Lexical Tutor’ as outlined in Chapter 5, Section 6. ‘K1’ and ‘K2’ refer to words belonging to the top and second thousand most frequent respectively. ‘AWL’ refers to the Academic Word List.

	EWL 6		HOM NO	
Word Type	No. of words	% of total	Word Type	No. of words
K1 Words (1 to 1000):	1791	86.27%	K1 Words (1 to 1000):	1791
K2 Words (1001 to 2000):	54	2.60%	K2 Words (1001 to 2000):	54
AWL Words (academic):	48	2.31%	AWL Words (academic):	48
Off-List Words:	183	8.82%	Off-List Words:	183

Table 4 Word frequencies by type

As can be seen, there is, again, very little difference between the two conversations. The only slight discrepancy appears to be in the number of less frequent words, which is higher in the homogeneous, Norwegian conversation than it is in the EWL one.

4.2 Conversational style

A way in which the two conversations can be said to be different is in the conversational styles of the interactants.

4.2.1. EWL Conversation 6

In the EWL conversation, there is a good deal of implicit negotiation in order to find a common style, the result of which is a predominantly ‘involvement’ and collaborative style, where interactants use a number of linguistic and paralinguistic features such as laughter to achieve an atmosphere of comity among them.

They explicitly agree with each other very frequently and seem willing to make concessions. They make extensive use of inclusive questions and often hedge or tone down their suggestions; where linguistic downtoners or hedges are not used, these are often substituted by laughter. Finally, they make substantial use of vague language in order not to impose on each other and give plenty of backchannelling signals.

Where there is emergent rivalry, between Milne and Hao, for the position of ‘chief negotiator’, the ‘loser’ in this rivalry does not show any rancour to the ‘winner’. Although both contenders were rated highly, in the preliminary questionnaires, in terms of their language level, it is nevertheless interesting that it should be the native speaker who climbs down.

The conversation is characterised by the comparatively small number of ‘divergent’ turns. There are some ‘bald’, unhedged turns and some open challenges and several instances of insistence, characterised by the use of the modal ‘have to’. There are very few instances of participants’ using intensifying adverbs or making their utterances more authoritative through the use of intonation.

4.2.2. Homogeneous conversation among Norwegian speakers

The conversation among homogeneous, Norwegian users of English does not display any negotiation of styles. All the speakers tend to use a somewhat direct, blunt

conversational style which might be called ‘high considerateness’ only by the most sympathetic listener. At the same time, interactants do use almost as many linguistic and paralinguistic devices as the EWL users in order to achieve comity. Although they agree with each other and concede slightly less than do their EWL counterparts, they have as many collaborative turns and make greater use of inclusive ‘you’ and ‘we’. They hedge their turns much less but use downtoners to more or less the same extent as the EWL participants. They make far less use of vague language, but have a similar level of hedging laughter and backchannelling.

Unlike the EWL speakers, they make extensive use of divergence markers such as direct questions and unhedged assertions without downtoners. They tend to use ‘direct’ modal verbs such as ‘can’ and ‘will’ rather than the less direct ‘could’ and ‘would’ and make noticeable use of amplifiers, such as ‘really’ to drive home their points. Fig. 2. below shows the differences: the convergence devices are not significantly fewer in the Norwegian conversation, while the divergence devices are markedly more numerous.

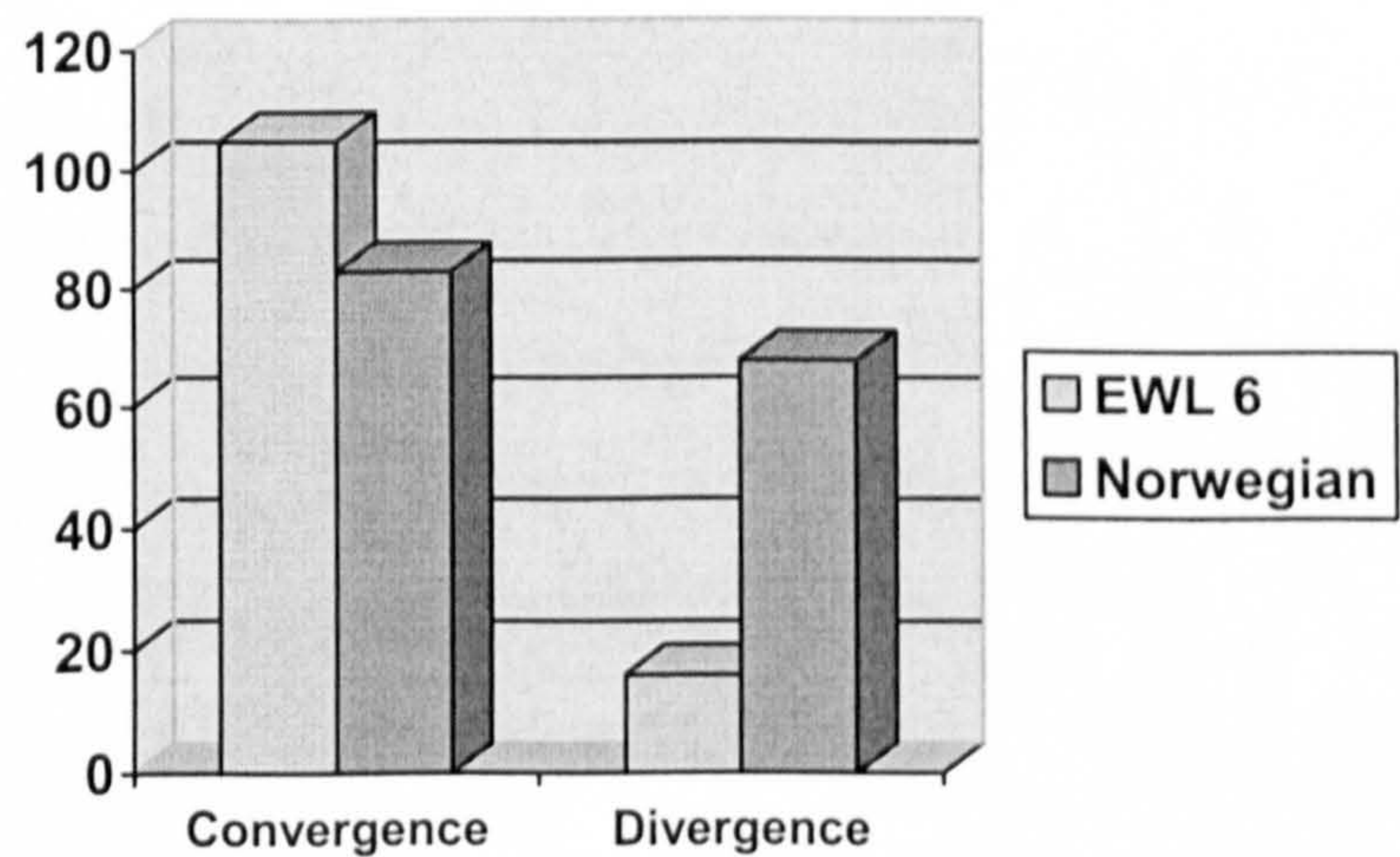


Fig 2. ‘Convergence’ and ‘Divergence’ markers in EWL Conversation 6 and Homogeneous Norwegian conversation

5. Preliminary conclusions

A comparison of these two conversations seems to show that spoken EWL is not fundamentally different from English spoken among homogeneous users. The more divergent nature of the homogeneous conversation may be simply explained by the fact that the participants share common ground and have less fear of upsetting each other by being bolder.

The stronger tendency towards negotiation and co-operativeness among EWL users is perhaps not surprising given that participants have less common ground on which to operate than do their homogeneous counterparts.

There is no noticeable strain on the tendency because of the presence of a native speaker and convergent devices such as vague language, hedges, jokes and humour are not solely used by the native speaker. There is no evidence of Foreigner Talk but some evidence of linguistic accommodation.

The following chapter will look summarily at the other eighteen conversations with the aim of confirming or modifying the present findings.

Chapter Eight

Results: overview of all conversations

1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, one EWL conversation, EWL 6, was compared to one among a group of more homogeneous speakers, NO. All speakers in the latter conversation shared Norwegian nationality, a common language other than English and a very similar cultural background. Using the analytical approaches identified in Chapter 5, a number of similarities and differences were identified and much of the conversational behaviour was accounted for using a range of explanatory frameworks, also reported in Chapter 5, and given as results of preliminary surveys in Chapter 6.

It was found, comparing the two conversations, that participants reached their transactional goal in an atmosphere which created and sustained comity and where it might be said that interactional goals of further comity were also achieved. While the linguacultural and social frameworks were different, participants in the two conversations used a similar range of vocabulary and similar overall discourse strategies. The difference between the two conversations lay in the area of conversational style: whereas both conversations contained a good deal of convergence marking (explicit agreement, concession, hedged or toned-down suggestions, backchannelling signals, collaborative turns, etc.) the homogeneous conversation also contained more in the way of divergence marking (challenging questions, unhedged comments without downtoners, dominance, etc.). Participants in the EWL conversation, perhaps obviously, made more efforts to achieve interactional goals than did those in the homogeneous conversation.

In examining the conversations, an attempt was made to explain the differences between them by referring to the influence of the meeting setting and to speakers' background, including their cultural background, their attitude towards English, their

sex/gender and any individual characteristics which may have emerged from the preliminary surveys.

The framework suggested by the outcomes of Chapter 7 will be used to deal, in less detail, with the remaining conversations. This chapter will not, therefore, examine eighteen conversations in the same way as the previous analysis; rather it will adopt a more quantitative approach, taking all the EWL conversations together and comparing them to the homogeneous ones. There will firstly be a brief examination of participants' lexical choices which will be followed by an equally brief consideration of discourse strategies. At a subsequent stage, the question of conversational style will be addressed, with particular focus on the achievement (or otherwise) of interactional goals. The chapter will conclude with an attempt at connecting features of conversational style to perceptions of the meeting setting and to the participants' cultural and individual backgrounds.

EWL conversation transcripts are given in Appendix L; homogeneous conversation transcripts are in Appendix M.

2. Vocabulary

The two conversations in Chapter 7 were examined in order to establish any differences in the range and frequency of vocabulary: very little difference was found. The only figures worth noting referred to the slightly higher use of less frequent words in the homogeneous conversation, compared to the EWL one.

The similarity in percentage of high frequency (K1) words and academic (AWL) words appears to be repeated across all the conversations. Using again Cobb's word profile calculation, the percentage of words belonging to the most frequent thousand

(K1) is between 78 and 88 in all conversations, with the average very slightly lower in the homogeneous conversations and the percentages of academic words (AWL) are between 1.9 and 2.8 for the EWL conversations and 1.4 and 2.7 for the homogeneous conversations, with the two average percentages very close to each other. The higher use of slightly less frequent words in the NO conversation compared to the EWL one, reported in Chapter 7, is repeated across the remaining conversations: the percentage of ‘K2’ words is slightly higher (between 2.0 and 5.4%) in the homogeneous conversations than in the EWL ones, where the percentages range from 2.1 to 3.9. See Tables 5 – 7.

EWL EWL →	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
K1 Words	83	80.5	82.6	88.4	86.4	86.3	84.6	89.2	86	87.9
K2 Words	3.9	3.6	2.4	2.8	2.5	2.6	3.2	2.1	2.6	2.5
AWL Words	2.8	2.8	1.2	2.2	2	2.3	2.7	2	1.9	1.2
Off-List	10.3	13	13.8	6.7	9.1	8.8	9.5	6.6	9.4	8.3

Table 5 Vocabulary profiles in EWL conversations: percentage of word types

EWL EWL →	AM	EN	GR	NI	NO	CH	GER	SP	IN
K1 Words	78	87.7	86.9	79.2	86.7	76.6	81.9	91.2	84.4
K2 Words	4.6	3.1	3.8	5.4	3.1	4.1	3.6	2.0	2.6
AWL Words	1.7	2.4	1.6	1.4	2.2	2.1	2.7	1.7	2.3
Off-List	15.6	6.8	7.7	14	7.9	17.3	11.8	5.1	10.6

Table 6 Vocabulary profiles in homogeneous conversations

	EWL	HOM
K1 Words	85.5	83.6
K2 Words	2.8	3.6
AWL Words	2.1	2.0
Off-List	9.5	10.7

Table 7 Comparison of vocabulary profiles in the two sorts of conversation (averages)

The differences in percentages are most easily explained by a commonsense reference to greater shared knowledge in the homogeneous conversations: where participants have more in common, they are freer to use slightly less frequent vocabulary items with each other, there being less risk of misunderstanding. A further explanation might be that greater commonality enables engagement in greater specificity which correlates with use of lower frequency words.

The greater frequency of off-list words in the homogeneous conversations might also be explained by the freedom to use more false starts and hesitations, leading to more ‘words’ unrecognised by the software.

3. Discourse strategies

There is evidence of both inductive and deductive discourse strategies across all the conversations and there seems to be little or nothing in the way of a discernable pattern. In EWL Conversations 1, 2, 5, 7, 8 and 10, there is near symmetry among the participants, some of whom use deductive strategies while more or less the same number use inductive ones. The situation is slightly different in the remaining EWL conversations, with a predominance of deductive strategies in all of them.

Three of the homogeneous conversations (AM, IN, NO) are more or less balanced, with as many participants using a deductive strategy as those using an inductive one. The other conversations are weighted one way or the other: the CH and SP conversations are characterised by deductive strategies, while the EN, GE and NI show evidence of inductive processes. Table 6 shows clear instances of different strategy use. Figures in brackets show line numbers in the relevant conversations.

	Participants using deductive strategy	Participants using inductive strategy
EWL 1	Stavros (4-13); Comfort (1-32)	Gauri (34-47)
EWL 2	Bayeh (61-74)	Derek (45-52, 89-129); Yan (89-129)
EWL 3	Lina (1-4); Ke (35-46)	
EWL 4	Pallu (6-8); Kris (40-50)	
EWL 5	Lei (67-72)	Ana (13-18ff)
EWL 7	Anja (2-7); Greta (8-14)	Claude (23-31); Betty (32-50)
EWL 8	Mary (1-4); Haluk (42-46)	Joseph (33-39); Yong (159-164)
EWL 9	Boon (1-3); Xing (4-7); Angela (12-14); Sammi (15-19)	John (126-130)
EWL 10	Qing (7-12); Mala (14-19)	Sarraj (20-28)
AM	Milne (96-102)	Sindy (35-41)
CH	Ping (1-5)	
EN		John (93-101)
GE		Anne (19-22)
GR		
IN	Pravin (10-14)	Shray (17-20)
NI		David (51-60)
NO	Hedda (1-6); Lina (7-10)	Birgit (20-24)
SP	Montse (10-16); Ines (42-44); Consuelo (45-48)	Rosario (1-6)

Table 8 Discourse strategies in all conversations

4. Conversational style

4.1. Achievement of interactional goals

Participants in all the conversations, quite naturally, achieve interactional goals which they were not specifically requested to try for and there is a general feeling of comity and convergence. This feeling is, however, noticeably stronger in the EWL conversations than in the homogeneous ones.

The normalised (Biber et.al. 1998:32-3) average number of convergence markers (Chapter 5, Section 6 and Appendix J) is given in Table 9 below.

CONVERGENCE MARKERS	EWL	HOMOG
Total all conversations	877	550
Average	87.7	61
High	171 (EWL 3)	96 (AM)
Low	40 (EWL 10)	33 (GR)
Div. by divergence markers - average	5.8	1.3

Table 9 Convergence Markers in EWL and non-EWL conversations

As can be seen, the average number of convergence markers in an EWL conversation is 87, with a high of 171, in EWL 3 and a low of 40 in EWL 10. The same calculations for the homogeneous conversations result in an average number of convergence markers per conversation of 55, with a high of 96 in AM and a low of 33 in GR.

This already produces a picture in which convergence is stronger in EWL conversations than it is in homogeneous ones. When divergence markers are factored in, the result is even clearer: by dividing the number of convergence markers by the number of divergence markers for each EWL conversation, an average figure of 5.8 emerges with a high of 19.2 in EWL 2 and a low of 2.0 in EWL 10. The same operation for the homogeneous conversations gives an average of 1.3, with a high of 2.1 in SP and a low of 0.9 in NI. These figures are considerably lower than the equivalent ones for the EWL conversations.

4.1.1. Laughter and humour

The most obvious sign of a friendly atmosphere is laughter. It was noted in Chapter 7 how the participants' laughter in EWL 6 helped maintain an atmosphere of comity and all but one of the remaining EWL conversations show the same tendency: roughly speaking, there are between ten and twenty bursts of collective backchannelling laughter in eight of the nine remaining EWL conversations. EWL 8 is the exception, with no laughter of any kind.

The laughter is often provoked by the use of jokes and humorous comments which, naturally, contribute to the overall feeling of comity. Three of the participants in EWL 1 make a joke or a humorous comment:

1	Sta	OK This guy is coming to the University, he is like really well known, he is, uh, Prime
2		Minister of (...) [Phone rings] This should be him calling now.
3	All	@@@ (EWL 1: 2. See also EWL 1: 130, 171-3)

three of those participating in EWL 7 make between them eleven funny statements:

88	Bet	He brings his own security, surely. I mean he's not going to come, just sort of step off
89		the 602 bus, is he? He's going to-
90	Anj	@Yeah @ (EWL 7:88-89. See also EWL 7:151-155, 240, 271, 287, 308-9, 329, 338, 376-9, 386-7, 390)

There are also humorous turns in conversations four, five and nine:

216	Sus	I don't think we can cut corners on the budget of the party though. I think that it's got
217		to be lavish, it's got to be really expensive and impressive. I don't think we should go
218		to Tesco's for the food.
219	All	@@@. (EWL 5:217-8. See also EWL 4:195-6;; EWL 9:162-3)

Collective laughter is also a feature in the homogeneous conversations, where it is more frequent than in the EWL ones. All save one of the homogeneous conversations include at least some backchannelling laughter and some of the conversations are constantly punctuated in this way (e.g. AM, EN, SP and NO). As with the EWL conversations, jokes and humour are unevenly distributed across the homogeneous conversations: the EN conversation has eight instances (EN: 74, 98, 265, 318, 418, 424, 454, 518) which, even given the extended length of this conversation, is a high number while the IN and NO conversations have no jokes or humorous comments at all.

4.1.2. Colloquial language and vague language

As well as provoking laughter by the use of jokes and humour, some participants do like Hao in EWL 6 and use colloquial language and vague language in order to appear friendlier and to encourage an atmosphere of light-heartedness, propitious to the achievement of interactional goals. The word 'quid', used by Hao in EWL 6

(Chapter 7, Section 2) is also used in EWL 7 (246) and the word 'guy' is used to refer to the VIP around whom the meetings are centred, (EWL 1:1), to address fellow participants (EWL 1:125, EWL 4:68) and to indicate the University's security officers (EWL 7:294).

'Guy' is fairly common in the homogeneous conversations, too, being used extensively by Sukvinder (IN), and variously in the other conversations referring, again, to the VIP (AM, NI, EN) the security staff (AM, GE) and each other (IN, AM, NI). Other than 'guy' there is little in the way of colloquial language in the homogeneous conversations, with the exception of NI, where a few expressions occur (NI: 2, 'in town', 60, 102 'grand', 83 'on deck', 135 'dodgy').

Vague expressions abound in all the EWL Conversations and in many cases it seems quite clear that they are being used in order to make the speaker appear more down-to-earth, less formal and therefore more inclined to constructing a friendly and co-operative environment (Chapter 5, Section 6.5) (EWL 1: 59 "we can actually do all this stuff", 161-2 "repairing and the whole image thing"; EWL 2:32 "some paintings or whatever"; EWL 3: 206 "I mean the video coverage and all that", 231-2 "the lights and the microphones and, and stuff"; EWL 4:36 "the technology and all this stuff"; EWL 5:233 "the respect and things"; EWL 7:194 "profe, visiting academics or whatever"; EWL 8:145-6 "pick up litters, those things like that"; EWL 9: 140-1 "buildings, or flowers or trees, something like this"; EWL 10:309 "not for food and those things").

In other cases, of course, vague language indicates nothing other than a speaker's hesitation at not finding the word she or he really wants. This seems to be clearest when the vague language is accompanied by a good deal of hesitation, as in EWL 1: 92 "If we could get a good set of, uh, microphones and, uh, console and everything",

EWL 2:91-92 “we should pre, uh, prepare for some, machines like, uh, uh, mi, microphones, sp, speak, speaker systems or interpreter systems or-”, EWL 5:262-3 “Really I think University itself has, be they got this kind of, uh, this, this, this what they call it? the (.....) of the, art and design?” and EWL 10: 97-8 “media will be telecasted either live or later, some other, uh, it will be, programme will be telecasted”.

The use of vague language to help construct an informal, therefore friendly atmosphere, is not so abundant in the homogeneous conversations taken overall. CH and GE have no such use at all, while GR, IN, SP and NO have only one or two examples (GR: 95 “We should set up some cameras. Some alarms. That kind of thing.” ; IN: 12 “the university looks very good, everything is furnished, well-decorated and everything”, 43 “When somebody comes and everything is dirty and everything” ; SP: 15 “You know like a record or something like that”, 98 “Or some of the labs. Some, some kind of labs.”; NO: 169 “spending money on repairs or something.”, 209 “We can use our auditorium or something instead”). NI and EN have a few more examples of ‘friendly’ vagueness (NI: 3 “. We want like the latest gadgets in town, you know, technologywise and everything”, 22-3 “this thing for them to come on the film and all that” , 27 “Drinks and all that”, 44 “you can just have like a radio playing or something”, 114 “the food and all that”; EN: 150-51 “awards and whatever”, 190 “BBC or anything”, 200 “Some kind of nourishment”, 273 “some kind of compromise”, 287 “flowers and stuff”) while participants in AM make substantial use of this strategy (AM: 59 “the parking lots and things like that”, 68 “the reception and that kind of thing”, 86 “some flowers, you know, stuff like that”, 92 “the banquet, things like that”, 103 “Stuff like this will”, 221 “everything’s

clean and everything”, 310 “a punch or something”, 328 “the cost of flowers or something”, 360 “about two thousand or whatever”).

Vague language is also used to tone down suggestions and will be dealt with in the appropriate section (4.1.6) below.

4.1.3. ‘We’, ‘Us’ and ‘You’

A sense of co-operativeness is also maintained in all the EWL conversations, as it is in the example EWL analysed in Chapter 7, by the persistent use of ‘we’ and ‘us’ or of the ‘inclusive you’. The many instances of ‘we’ and ‘you’ can often be explained by the simple fact that speakers are discussing collective action, but there are plenty of turns where it is clear that ‘we’ is intended to signal explicit comity or an explicit call to co-operativeness.

74	Lin	Oh well, I, I, I, you and me, we are sort of like, we have sort
75		of the same idea, I think. So I could, I could probably agree with you. I, I, I mean I
76		could, I could cut my budget on food and drinks a bit and we could make like snacks
77		or-
(EWL 3: 74-7. See also EWL 2:165-8, EWL 5:73, EWL 7:54-6)		

The homogeneous conversations also make use of ‘you’ and ‘we’ to signal inclusiveness.

255	Sin	Well, with food and everything like that’s something that, I mean, we all know how
256		expensive food is here, especially like nice food. I mean this guy is not going to
(AM: 255-6. See also CH: 21, EN: 303, 398, GR: 127; IN: 92; NI: 88-9, 122, 176; NO: 149, 176, 250, SP: 39)		

The distribution of ‘we’ and ‘you’ across the EWL conversations shows, possibly, a pattern not present in the homogeneous conversations. After normalisation, there seems to be a relatively high use of ‘we’ and a lower use of ‘you’ in the EWL conversations, while no such clustering occurs in the homogeneous ones. Tables 10 and 11 give instances grouped by frequency.

Times used →	10-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-70	70-80	80-90	90-100	100+
WE		8		6	10		2 5 9	1 7	4	3
YOU		1 2 3	4 9	6 8	7	5 10				

Table 10 Use of ‘We’ and ‘You’ in EWL conversations

Times used →	10-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-70	70-80	80-90	90-100	100+
WE			SP	CH	NI GE	AM	EN IN		NO GR	
YOU	CH	GR		GE NO	EN AM	IN	SP		NI	

Table 11 Use of ‘We’ and ‘You’ in homogeneous conversations

It may be that, following the idea that the EWL conversations are more convergent, the greater use of ‘we’ in them emphasises co-operation and the lesser use of ‘you’ corresponds to situations of minimal personal confrontation.

4.1.4. Accommodation, collaborative turns and backchannels

As with EWL 6, examined in detail in the previous chapter, much evidence of comity in all conversations comes not in individual turns, but across exchanges, with participants accommodating to each other, speaking collaboratively and using backchannel signals while another interactant is speaking.

Speakers appear to accommodate linguistically to each other in many of the EWL conversations, as Javier accommodated to Sofia in EWL 6 (Chapter 7, Section 2). This mostly takes the form of one participant echoing a word or words of a previous speaker. In EWL 3: 241-248, for example, Ke uses the word ‘volunteers’ shortly after Ahmed has introduced it, while in EWL 4: 17-9, Pallu echoes the word ‘perfect’ previously uttered by Richard. The fact that she prefaces it with ‘Exactly’ seems to emphasise that she wants to use Richard’s word in order to show how attuned she is to him. In the same conversation, Richard deliberately echoes Bai’s

use of the word ‘volunteer’ and ‘student union’ in an exchange that is therefore heavily marked as showing comity between the speakers (EWL 4: 140-144).

In EWL 5, there is, apparently, a more subtle instance of accommodation: Ana uses the word ‘image’ twice in two sequential turns, collocating it with ‘promote’ and then with ‘put’. Chat, in the following turn, appears to want to accommodate to Ana in that he uses the word ‘image’ but collocates it with ‘give’, thereby showing perhaps that this is not a word he uses very often (EWL 5: 137-142).

This type of ‘echoing’ accommodation is also present in the homogeneous conversations: in AM, for example, Sindy hears Dolores say ‘a good opportunity to come in’ and, in a move which seems to be a backchannel, accommodates to her by echoing ‘Coming in’ (46-47); Dolores a little later accommodates to Candice (AM: 94-95). In EN, Betty echoes Susy’s ‘they’re learning’ (180-181) and Susy echoes Betty’s ‘He’s an intelligent man’ (372-5) and in CH, Bai echoes Fan (84-5). There is some evidence of echoing accommodation also in GE (85-86, 114-5) GR (118-9), SP (55-6) and extensively in NI:

8	Shi	Well I think the food is very important, otherwise be hungry
9	Com	Uh...yeah food is very important but
(NI 8-9. See also 11-12, 32-33, 67-71, 117-119, 145-146, 169-170, 175-176, 193-194).		

EN, alone among the homogeneous conversations, has examples of accommodation which are not echoing, where one speaker seems to use another speaker’s expressions without repeating them back instantly. The word ‘showcase’ for example, is introduced by Betty (33) and shortly after taken up by Santosh (40); a little later, Betty uses the word ‘esteemed’ to describe the university (58) and, again, Santosh uses it in a later turn (77).

At times, accommodation appears to take place during collaborative turns and, in any case, speakers often overlap with each other in a supportive way. The collaborative

turns identified in EWL 6 in the previous chapter are readily paralleled by many similar instances in the other EWL conversations:

195	Cla	Well you could imagine a morning there, followed by a, maybe banquet and then the,
196		visit.
197	Bet	Yes. OK. Something fairly scaled down. Of course he will need to give a
198		speech. I mean that would be the main purpose-
199	Cla	Yeah he will need to give a speech, the VC will need to give a speech and-
200	Bet	Yeah
201	Cla	can think you can have a couple of, uh, guests there-
202	Bet	Hmm.
(EWL 7: 195-202. See also e.g. EWL 1:71-74, 155-9; EWL 5:156-161; EWL 7: 215-224; EWL 8: 154-7; EWL 10: 103-113)		

The homogeneous conversations also contain many collaborative turns, with participants supplying words for each other or supporting each other by simultaneously supplying a synonymous expression:

171	Lui	And the presentation, yeah. Because mine's alr, all, I think they often sort of-
172	Sof	Overlap Yeah.
173	Lui	overlap slightly I mean you've.
(GE: 171-173)		

140	Bai	Yeah and, not only, not only for films	music.
141	Lei	Five hundred pounds	Films but also music.
142	Pin	Entertainment	
143	Bai	Entertainment	
(CH: 140-143. See Also e.g. AM: 113-115, 267-269, 336-339; 150-151; EN: 440-441, 488-490; GR: 87-90; IN: 39-42; NI: 217-221; NO: 159-162, SP: 78-79, 100-102)			

The most frequent evidence of collaboration, however, comes from the use of backchannelling signals. Naturally, some participants use these more frequently than others, but they are present in all the conversations. Two examples of rather enthusiastic backchannelling in the EWL conversations may be found in EWL 3: 99-107 and EWL 7: 197-208:

99	Lin		We, we could make them
100	Ke	Yeah.	
101	Lin	You know what, I have an idea. I think we should to Art and Design	
102	Dav	Yeah yeah.	
103	Lin	Ask the students there whether they could make time to make something. That	
104	Ahm	Yeah	
105	Ke	Yeah	

106	Lin	we could do but we should keep it simple because it's, it's really, i, it's not very
107	Dav	Yeah
(EWL 3: 99-110)		

199	Cla	Yeah he will need to give a speech, the VC will need to give a speech and-
200	Bet	Yeah
201	Cla	can think you can have a couple of, uh, guests there-
202	Bet	Hmm.
203	Cla	So that the university stands for what it is-
204	Bet	Hmm
205	Cla	an academic institution at the same time as providing him-
206	Bet	Mmm.
207	Cla	an insight on the life of the campus.
208	Mag	Yeah.
(EWL 7: 197-208)		

The very uneven distribution across the EWL conversations (only 3, 4, 4 and 5 instances in Conversations 1, 9, 8 and 4 respectively, 9, 12 and 17 in Conversations 6, 10 and 2, no fewer than 27, 46 and 64 in Conversations 7, 3 and 5) has mostly to do with the personal idiosyncrasies of particular speakers. What is noticeable is how all save one of the homogeneous conversations make relatively little use of backchannelling, with normalised numbers ranging from 0.4 (EN) to 16 (SP), while AM has 33, more than double SP, which is second in ranking. This is almost entirely accounted for by the near-obsessive use of ‘right’ and ‘uh-huh’ by one of the AM speakers in particular (Sindy).

There are times in the EWL conversations when these three convergence markers, accommodation, collaborative turns and backchannelling, co-occur, producing an extremely collaborative sequence. This example comes from EWL 2: 144-160:

145		instead of going out buying something we just go and rent it.
146	Der	Er, indeed, yeah
147	Pin	Yeah.
148	Bay	That..hopefully that will be cheaper.
149	Der	Indeed.
150	Pin	Yeah.
151	Bay	Uhm The other thing, uh, for my portion of the project, instead of going renting a
152		professional film crew we can-
153	Pin	Maybe-

154	Bay	get a consultant, just hire a person
155	Pin	hire, hire adult students, hire students.
156	Bay	Well, we'll be using the students but get somebody professional so he can
157		direct the students' activities.
158	Pin	Yeah
159	Bay	So that will.. end up being a lot cheaper.
160	Der	Yeah that's, that is maybe a good idea, like you say.....
(EWL 2: 144-160)		

Derek and Bayeh express their co-operation with Ping by their use of backchannelling signals (“indeed” and “yeah” respectively); Ping collaborates with Bayeh by suggesting students while Bayeh is proposing the engagement of a consultant and Ping accommodates to Bayeh by taking up his use of ‘hire’. There are no examples of this three-way co-occurrence in the homogeneous conversations.

4.1.5. Explicit agreement and concessions

Sofia’s, Hedda’s and Javier’s efforts at achieving comity by agreeing explicitly with each other and the other speakers and by making concessions were noted in Chapter 7, Section 2. Further proof that interactants in all the EWL conversations set out to achieve interactional goals as well as the transactional one given in their task may be found in the fact that they too constantly express agreement both explicitly and implicitly:

16		and because and that's can improve our university's image. And a nice
17		banquet will be, uh, must be nice food with wines and, That budget for
18		this is, uh, around two to th, two to three thousands.
19	Der	Hu-hum. Yeah, that's a good idea.
(EWL 2:19. See also e.g. EWL 1:55; EWL2: 39, 70; EWL 3:83, 161, 242; EWL 4:73; EWL 5:66, 147, 351; EWL 7:15, 73, 142, 268; EWL 8: 19, 66, 151; EWL 10:42, 303, 402)		

They also, like the participants in EWL 6, decide to settle for less of the budget than they had originally planned to obtain, again with the aim of making interactional goals as important as, or even more important than, the transactional ones:

298 299 300	Ana So how are we going to allocate the expenses then? Because look at it. If the budget gives I can compromise to one thousand, I think that is quite a big step I'm moving, you know to compromise with that expenses. (EWL 5: 298-300. See also EWL 2:36-7; EWL 3:73, 259-63; EWL 4:60, 64, 67; EWL 5:167, 331; EWL 7:302; EWL 8:27; EWL 9:213, 229; EWL 10:177, 326)
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The overall amount of concession in the EWL conversations is rather more than in the homogeneous conversations: 67 marked turns compared to 50. When it comes to explicit agreement, the difference is far greater: there is almost double the amount of explicit agreement in the EWL conversations, compared to the homogeneous ones – 130 marked turns compared to 75.

What concession and explicit agreement there is in the homogeneous conversations is fairly evenly distributed with SP seeming the most convergent in this way, showing an overall high (13 explicit agreement turns, 10 concessions) and GE the least (3 explicit agreement, 1 concession).

Speakers in the homogeneous conversations express their agreement by the use of 'yeah' or 'yes' (CH: 108, 123, 154; GR: 40, 45, 93; NO: 19, 85, 156), by the use of adjectives 'great', 'good', 'alright' and 'fine' (AM: 336; CH: 79, 109; GE: 71; IN: 105; NI: 26, NO: 139; SP: 122), by using the performative 'I agree' (EN: 32, 36, 175, 436, SP: 83, 88) or by repeating, restating or rephrasing previous turns:

132 133	Ine Uh, about two or three thousand pounds. It's not very much. Con It's quite cheap. (SP: 132-133)
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140 141	Mil Yet there's, it's kind of open, it's a little too open. Sin Yeah it's a little dangerous. (AM 19-23)
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19 20 21 22 23	Bai I think uhm, such as painting as the outside of the building uhm, if they come, they will, it is appeared in their mind firstly- Qin Uhm, but I think, uhm, we should do something cleaning. You know that if the VIP come here, when see the very clean walls and the fresh flowers and they will be very gre, great and glad (CH: 19-23. See also AM: 13, 141, 268; SP: 10, 19, 23, 108, 119)
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Concession is mainly expressed by short phrases such as ‘I know’, ‘OK’, ‘all right’, ‘that’s true’ and ‘I see’ (AM: 64, 170, 321; EN: 153, 494; NI: 12, 99, 102, 131, 140, 216; SP: 17, 51, 215). Concession in EN is characterised by the use of performatives ‘I concede’ and ‘I can compromise’ (EN: 69, 201, 204, 479, 498, 506).

4.1.6. Maintaining comity despite transactional goals

It is quite clear from the foregoing that participants in all conversations are as focused on interactional goals as they are on the prescribed transactional one of making bids for sums of money, the total of which exceeds the overall amount of money available. In some conversations they may even be more focused on unstated interactional goals than on the given transactional one. They use a mixture of paralinguistic behaviour (laughter), within-turn linguistic behaviour (jokes, vague language, inclusive ‘we’ and ‘you’), conversation exchange behaviour (accommodation, collaborative turns, backchannelling) and illocutionary functions (agreement, concession) in order to create, maintain and emphasise the spirit of convergence in which they clearly want and like to work.

In order to achieve the transactional aims of the meeting, some divergent behaviour is nonetheless required: participants do need to make points and occasionally to take a stand against others. It was noted in Chapter 7 that interactants did this in ways intended not to upset the co-operative atmosphere and the interactants in the remaining EWL conversations use similar strategies to achieve the same effect. Suggestions, for example, are often made in tentative ways, using appropriate modals and hedging devices to render them less threatening:

54 55	Hal Well it maybe too much money to spend, like, that much money in, in security-
	(EWL 8: 54-5. See also e.g. EWL 1:51-2, 62-3, 120-1, 155; EWL 2:90-1, 125-8; EWL 3:7-8, 42-3, 45, 125-6, 149; EWL 4:84-6, 88-91, 97, 176; EWL 5:145-6, 164, 242-3, 286, 327, 358; EWL 7:12- 3, 195-6, 209-10, 239, 279-80; EWL 8:54-5, 145-6, 245-6, 218; EWL 9:167-9; EWL 10:152, 177, 249-50)

In the same way as the participants in EWL 6, interactants in the other EWL conversations also use a range of other means in order to make their suggestions more acceptable to others and therefore to maintain comity. A significant number of suggestions are made with explicit downtoners such as 'just' and 'really' (in conjunction with a negative:

316	So I, my party is just to have impression for the person that's coming. (EWL 10:316)
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116	think of a budget for promoting and..it as well. We can't really use like five
117	thousand-
	(EWL 1: 116-7. See also e.g. EWL 2:12-3; EWL 3:45-6, 231, EWL 5:99, 295, 322-3; EWL 7:82-3, 279-80, 323; EWL 8: 9, 117, 199-201, 245-6; EWL 9:111)

Other suggestions appear to be toned down by the use of vague language.

157	<p>Lin Well, we have to use like a list, I don't know.</p> <p>(EWL 2: 157. See also e.g. EWL 1:13, 15, 62-3, 95; EWL 2: 74, 90-92; EWL 3: 6, 69, 71, 93, 191; EWL 7: 14, 102-3, 246; EWL 8: 42, 144-5, 189, 222, 232-5; EWL 9: 87-8)</p>
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Other ways of making suggestions while maintaining comity are to add an ‘inclusive’ question or to add hedging laughter, much as Sofia did in EWL 6:

72	Ric Well, that's a lot of money to spend on security, don't you think? (EWL 4: 72. See also EWL 1: 77; EWL 3: 172, 217-8; EWL 7: 118; EWL 10: 245-8, 301-2)
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34 Ana Do you think you're able to. Try to reduce your style @@@
(EWL 5: 34. See also EWL 3: 50; EWL 7: 335; EWL 9: 168, 213)

There appears to be a great deal more of this softening behaviour in the EWL conversations compared to the homogeneous ones. After normalisation, the number

of hedges in the EWL conversations is 122, while in the homogeneous ones it is less than half, at 53. While the use of softening laughter and the number of ‘downtoners’ is roughly the same in both sets of conversations, the use of vague language to soften a proposal is, like the use of hedging, far smaller in the homogeneous conversations with, again, only half the instances present in the EWL ones. The number of ‘inclusive questions’ is, similarly, significantly higher in the EWL conversations than in the homogeneous ones.

Among the homogeneous conversations, most hedges are, after normalisation, present in CH (CH: 21-29, 56-63), followed closely by AM (e.g. AM: 38, 86, 321, 327, 331). There is a significant amount of downtoner use in IN (IN: 10, 16, 28, 92) and, again, in AM (e.g. AM: 89, 101, 104, 140, 246). Vague language and laughter are used to soften turns in several conversations:

6	I think I, the money would be better spent on repairs and cleaning and sort of painting, (GE: 6)
286 287	Sus And if we’re going to have a banquet, we’re going to have a banquet, then I’d like to decorate that hall with like flowers and stuff (EN: 286-7. See also e.g. GE 18, 23, 40, 41, 48, 127, 148; IN: 16, 29, 31, 70, 103; EN: 45, 473; NO: 45-6, 49, 238, 248).

There is a scattering of inclusive questions across all the homogeneous conversations.

4.2. Divergent behaviour

All of the foregoing does not, of course, mean that all the conversations are free of unfettered divergent behaviour. There are plenty of examples of participants challenging each other and making suggestions, or even demands, without recourse to hedges and downtoning. There are also instances of clearly unco-operative conversational styles. There tend to be more instances of overt, unsoftened

challenging and bare demands in the homogeneous conversations than in the EWL ones.

4.2.1. Challenging

Alongside the inclusive questions referred to above as helping to maintain an atmosphere of comity, interactants also use challenging questions where, on the contrary, they seem to want to make their individual transactional goal more important than any interactional goals. There are clear examples in most EWL conversations:

122	Mag Exactly. What about snipers? Don't forget snipers. (EWL 7: 122. See also e.g. EWL 1: 23, 50, 75, 76, 106, 152; EWL 3: 25, 47-9, 91, 152; EWL 4: 9, 20, 131-2; EWL 5: 80, 273, 347; EWL 7: 52, 149-50, 257; EWL 8: 21, 87, 103, 107, 237; EWL 10: 66-7, 72-3, 141, 185, 202, 205, 213-4, 220-1, 343)
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The average amount of challenging questions across all the EWL conversations is roughly half that occurring in the homogeneous conversations. After the usual normalisation, two EWL conversations have no challenging questions at all (Conversations 6 and 9) while all the remaining conversations except EWL 1 have five or fewer. Normalised results for the homogeneous conversations show a high of 11 challenging questions in NI, followed by 8, 7, 6.5 and 6 in GR , NO, EN and CH respectively. AM, GE, IN and SP are more similar to the EWL conversations inasmuch as they show only 3, 3, 5 and 4 instances of challenging questions respectively.

4.2.2. Demands, not suggestions

Throughout all the conversations there is ample evidence of participants insisting that money should be spent in the way they want it to be spent and that the sum they

require should not be reduced. When participants choose not to hedge their point nor to tone down their demand, this insistence results in ‘divergent’ conversational behaviour, often characterised by modal verbs ‘have to’, ‘must’, ‘need to’ and ‘cannot’ and by interactants intensifying their demands with ‘very’, ‘it’s very important’, ‘definitely’ etc.

222 223	Hal	I still want to spend two thousand pound, around two thousand pounds for entertainment because it’s really important. Everything should be all right. (EWL 8: 222-223. See also e.g. EWL 1: 4-5, 110, 150; EWL 3:38-9, 135-6, 251; EWL 5:17, 139, 195, 220, 274; EWL 7:8-9, 12-3, 61, 102-3, 302; EWL 8: 22-3, 67-8, 88-9; EWL 9: 115-8, 135-6, 212-3; EWL 10: 14-5, 64, 299; AM: 13, 56, 142, 161; CH: 17, 56, 69; EN: 66-7, 113, 167, 324; GE: 28, 141, 167; GR: 18, 46, 54, 85; IN: 33, 36, 58, NI: 24, 54, 92, 150; SP: 19, 48, 83, 217)
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The average number of unhedged phrases using modal verbs expressing obligation or impossibility is roughly the same in the EWL conversations as it is in the homogeneous ones. The use of intensifying words and phrases is, however, much more frequent in the homogeneous conversations, with an average of 11 uses per EWL (low 7, high 21) compared to an average of 5.4 (low 0, high 11) in the EWL conversations.

4.2.3. Closure

Another way in which interactants express their divergence from each other is in the use of ‘closure’ phrases, intended to curtail the treatment of a topic or in any way to bring a point to a close, without inviting further discussion, thus effectively blocking comity and co-operativeness. There are slightly fewer examples of this behaviour in the EWL conversations than in the homogeneous ones.

55 56 57 58 59	Der Pin Der	and I think they, uh, really appreciate it and they are al..also really proud and that their painting is hanging on that wall. Yeah So they are really proud and we can reduce costs, so I think, uh, that’s a good solution. I hope so. (EWL 2: 55-59. See also EWL 3: 18, 80; EWL 5: 66, 112)
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22	So we should spend money on security. This is my suggestion. (GE: 22. See also CH: 5, 29, 40, 62; NI: 167-8; NO: 118)
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4.2.4. Other divergent behaviour

Challenging questions and the use of certain modal verbs and intensifiers do not account for all the divergent behaviour in the conversations. There are times, although rare, when interactants express their divergence directly, with the performative ‘I disagree’ (EWL 3:19; EWL 8:40; EWL 9:33, 152; EN:33, 139-140) or when they add a marking expression which appears to signal divergence (e.g. EWL 2:75 “But as I already mentioned”; AM: 316-7 “But when it comes down”; IN: 71 “That’s what I said”, 82 “So what I say is..”, 89 “What I’m saying is”...). Far more common than these lexical markers is the use of prosodic features to show divergence. Interactants frequently use a rise-fall pitch change on tonic syllables to indicate the authoritative, and therefore divergent nature of their turn. This is mostly accompanied by greater volume and a slowing in rhythm:

99 100	Ann Yes, but they won’t film for two thousand pounds, nobody films for two thousand pounds. (EWL 1: 99-100. See also e.g. EWL 1: 131-135; EWL 4:25; EWL 5:21; EWL 7:92-3; EWL 9:157; EWL 10: 397; EN: 10, 42, 261, 472; GE: 158; GR: 42; NI: 8-59; NO: 61; SP: 20)
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Apart from turns which are clearly marked for divergence in this way, there are many turns which take the form of bald, unsoftened assertions and counter opinions and others where speakers insist or at least simply reinforce a previous point, again, with no attempt at softening.

22	Ric We, we need more money for a preparations than the welcome. (EWL 4:22. See also EWL 1:99-100, 146-147, EWL 2:75; EWL 4: 27, 38-39, 72, 78, 131, 136, 175; EWL 5:23-24, 234; EWL 7:85, 87, 144; EWL 9:47; EWL 10:97; AM:88, 118, 119-120, 191, 333; CH:13; EN: 119-120, 227-228, 253, 388, 471, 492; GE: 100, 123, 128-129; IN: 51, 82; NI: 47, 99, 101, 105, 108, 126-127; NO: 54, 56, 63-64, 113; SP:29)
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21	Joh	So how much are we going to spend?
22	Boo	Uh, five thousand pounds.
23	Sam	Ohh
24	Ang	Five thousand pounds.
25	Boo	Five thousand.
26	Xin	I think it's impossible because if you want to, uhm, uh, suit up a security
27		system you need much technology system. So it should be spent more than five
28		thousand.
(EWL 9: 21-28. See also EWL 1: 109; EWL 3:150; EWL 7:306-307; EWL 9: 37, 102, 131; EWL 10: 159, 265; CH: 99, 102, 113, 114, 133, 138; EN:11, 32, 121, 197, 239, 290, 311, 357-358; GE: 4, 196; GR: 67, 68, 84, 96-97; NI: 36, 39, 43, 50, 128, 185, 222, 225; SP: 54)		

195	Fan	I think two thousand is enough.
196	Sar	No. Never never.
197	Shr	A thousand is enough for your flowers.
198	Fan	You say we can bring some, bring flowers to school
199	Sar	Then I, then I, then I can decorate only the hall. I can
200		paint only the hall. Then how can get, films, BBC, they come around the university.
201		How can they feel?
202	Fan	I think two thousand is enough.
(EWL 10: 195-202. See also EWL 9: 200; EWL 10: 306; AM: 72, 105; EN: 310, 387; GE: 11; NI: 107, 195; NO: 87)		

Rarely, the baldness in assertions turns to scornful remarks

62	Gra	Yes but I think like security is more important than all these three cause like
63	Com	You must be joking
(NI: 63. See also EWL 8: 6; EWL 10: 276; GR: 48; IN: 53; NO: 108; SP: 86, 202)		

There are three more types of divergent behaviour of which there are no instances at all in the EWL conversations but several examples in the homogeneous ones. Participants in the latter conversations often simply gainsay a previous turn, often in the most laconic way This does not happen at all in the EWL conversations.

204	San	I think we should think
205		about food after we've taken care of the main priorities such as security and I would
206		say half of the budget would be spent but I'm going to compromise and say OK a little
207		under a half. We'll say five thousand.
208	Ian	I wouldn't-
(EN: 206. See also EN 217, 289, 354, 443, 449, 523, 565; GR: 14; NI: 35, 66, 67, 88, 129, 163; NO: 52-3, 55, 77, 78, 79; SP: 66, 74, 118)		

A further, albeit rare divergent feature of the homogeneous conversations is the use of dominant discourse markers such as 'Look' (GE: 19; NI: 84) and 'Listen' (NI: 75; NO: 115). One of the interactants in NI goes further still, with a defiant reprimand: "I hope you know that" (NI: 89-90).

The instances of all types of divergent behaviour are far more numerous in the homogeneous conversations (average 14 per EWL; high NI 28, low SP and GE 10) than in the EWL ones (average 6 per EWL; high EWL 10 – 11 instances, low EWL 2 – 1 instance).

4.3. High involvement and high considerateness styles

The problem with recording convergence and divergence markers is that it assumes common ground among speakers, that speakers are likely to follow the same route towards the achievement of interactional goals but that some are more willing to do so than others, or more willing to do so in one situation rather than another. Within this framework, it is perfectly possible that the interactants using the most divergence markers are also those using the most convergence ones. By marking their turns in either way, they are providing evidence of their choice of a high involvement conversational style and perhaps consider that the way to interactional goals is through engaging personally with other participants, whether this means supporting them or disagreeing with them.

4.3.1. Involvement and considerateness styles in EWL conversations

EWL 7 is unique among the EWL conversations in that all the participants seem to share a high involvement style. It can be no coincidence that EWL 7 also appears to be the most meeting-like of all the EWL ones.

In EWL 8, all participants seem, conversely, to have a distant and independent conversational style. It has already been noted that this EWL is totally lacking in laughter and contains few backchannels or inclusive questions.

In other EWL conversations, there is evidence of conflicting conversational styles with some interactants clearly attempting to involve and engage fellow speakers while others appear to want to maintain safe distances, perhaps endeavouring to achieve and maintain a sense of comity by allowing others maximum freedom and protecting their negative face.

In Conversations 1, 5 and 10, most participants use a high involvement style, with considerateness speakers in a minority of one in each case. Stavros, Anne and Comfort (EWL 1) are clearly keen to engage, making free use of ‘you’ and approving and rejecting others’ ideas. Gauri, on the other hand, uses a lot of impersonal language, uses ‘we’ (rather than ‘you’) to refer to other people’s ideas and, with few exceptions, does not tackle other interactants head on. Ana, Susy and Lei, in EWL 5, and Mala, Shray, Sarraj and Fang in EWL 10 are also high involvement speakers while Chan (EWL 5) and Qing (EWL 10), with their more considerateness approach, tend to become marginalised.

In Conversations 2 and 9, the bias seems to be the other way, with Derek trying very hard to keep everyone going on his terms by giving a great deal of approval and by enthusiastic backchannelling:

17	will be, uh, must be nice food with wines and, That budget for this is, uh, around two to th, two
18	to three thousands.
19	Der Hu-hum. Yeah, that’s a good idea. I also think uh, that uh, the guest has, yeah certainly
20	have to drink something, so-
(EWL 2: 17-20. See also EWL 2: 70, 160)	

95	Der	Excuse me?
96	Yan	Appropriate seating.
97	Der	Uh-huh
98	Yan	Yeah, I think it’s essential for, for the meeting and will, some machines will make the,
99		uh, make the conference clearly-
100	Der	Yeah
101	Yan	and, uh, I think they will helpful, uh, f, for the conference to be successful.
102	Der	Yeah
103	Yan	And, uh, I think, uh, uh, in, in a conference, uh, we can pre, prepare some, uh, drink,

104		soft drink.
105	Der	Uh-hum
106	Yan	Uh, uh, and uh some int..interpreter system to help others to hear clearly.
107	Der	Uh-huh
(EWL 2:96-T06. See also EWL 2: 66, 143-149)		

Two at least of the other three participants seem to want to move matters forward in a different way: Bayeh deals with Derek’s suggestions factually, not personally and puts his own proposal forward without attempting to engage other opinions on it; Yan participates in a similar vein.

In EWL 9, it is John who, albeit only occasionally, seems to want to engage and to encourage others to do likewise while everyone else is content to use a less personal, more independent style:

79	Joh	How much are we, how much have we got to
80	Sam	money. So it’s very great.
81	Boo	We have, uh-
82	Sam	Because we, uh, we want to spend our money in, uh, five case. so you can’t,
83		uh, you can’t spend twenty-five percent of our money for security system.
84		I’m sorry.
85	Joh	How much money have we got together if we don’t pay anything on
86		security? How much, Sam. No, Sam, how much..
87	Sam	No. How much for your case?
88	Xin	About, uh, five thousand.
89	Boo	Five-
90	Sam	Five thousand
91	Ang	Five thousand.
92	Boo	Oh. Come on!
93	Joh	@@@ How much for you?
94	Ang	One thousand.
95	Joh	Yeah?
96	Sev	@@@
97	Ang	And I think it’s better not to spend a lot of money for this.
(EWL 9:79-86)		

In EWL 4, Richard and Pallu appear to be at opposite ends of the involvement-distance spectrum with Richard constantly supporting or combating other speakers and Pallu responding by mirroring, rather than confronting.

Whereas in all these conversations speakers with different styles seem to coexist quite happily with each other, the situation in EWL 3 is not quite so felicitous:

Lina’s high involvement style seems to overwhelm the other participants who treat her as a leader and take it in turns to get beaten down:

47	Lin	You, you want to spend four thousand pounds-
48	Ke	Yeah
49	Lin	on, on, on microphones and, and seats for people?
50	Ke	No, I just @@@, I don't mean that. Uh, I, I think the most important is let the lecturer
51		share his or her ideas-
52	Lin	Yeah, yeah OK
53	Ke	for the audience. And if he or she didn't have the chance to do that, it is not, uh, worth,
54		uh, so much money.
55	Lin	Yeah, but, I, I see your point, really I do. But still we are, we have to,
56		you know, this person needs to feel welcome because we-
57	Ke	Yeah
58	Lin	we invited this person, and this person actually agreed to come here and
59	Ke	Yeah, of course, yeah
60	Lin	that's, that's a big thing itself. So we need to make this person feel comfortable and
61		welcome.
62	Ke	Yeah, comfortable and welcome.
63	Lin	That's why I want us to ma, to, to give something in return, like-
64	Ke	Um, yeah,
(EWL 3: 47-64. See also EWL3: 72-83)		

Yet, in her own way, Lina seems to be trying to achieve co-operation and seems unaware that her approach is not shared by the others. Ke, using a style at variance with Lina’s, seemingly tries to hold his ground without tackling her but is then silenced by her forthrightness (EWL 3: 111-150), causing laughter among all participants, perhaps reflecting the awkwardness of the conflict (EWL 3: 151).

4.3.2. Involvement and considerateness styles in homogeneous conversations

At either end of the ‘high involvement’ – ‘high considerateness’ spectrum are the SP and CH conversations. A look at comparable sections from each conversation will make the point adequately: in SP Consuelo suggests spending money on cleaning and tidying, including renewing carpets and has to defend the idea in the face of criticism from all the other participants:

45	Con	Yeah and of course, I think we need uh, clean
46		and tidy all the areas he will be visit, he will be visiting because in some of the
47		places in this Uni he can find that it's not a good impression, the first impression
48		you have; it's not very good so I think we have to spend a little mon, a little, little,
49		little money.
50	Ros	How much?
51	Con	Maybe three or, three or four thousand.
52	Mon	It's OK
53	Ine	Three or four thousand?
54	Con	Yes, because you have to-
55	Ine	It's too much
56	Con	renew all the carpets, paint, paint again most of the
57	Mon	Renew all the carpets, why don't you clean the carpets instead of renewing them?
58	Con	Because uhm, most of the times if you clean it, it is not any difference.
59	All	@@@
60	Mon	No, You have to take into account he is not going to, like-
61	Con	But he's using different carpets, I mean they are more, very, very used and they only
62		change a small part of it so it's better uh, better impression.
63	Mon	Yeah but he's co-
64	Con	Only one carpet. Uhm, please, clean.
65	Mon	Yeah I know what you mean but he's not going to be walking around every building
66		in the whole university but-
67	Con	No but we can-
68	Ine	We can prepare
69	Con	we can predict in which places he will be
70	Mon	Yeah but for example if you have the
71	Con	and think about.
72	Mon	this big theatre in the De Havilland campus, you could just prepare that building,
73		you know, constantly and clean
74	Con	No, no, which, which kind of visit is being only one building?
75	Mon	No, no, no. It's not a visit, I mean..
76	Ros	But we can speak with him
77	Con	Yes and he, he will do a speech and we will having a banquet there but..
78	Ine	Yes, yes
79	Con	later he could want see more, more things.
80	Mon	Yeah to visit
81	Con	Only, only the buildings outside but never enter in, on them.
82	All	@@@
83	Mon	Yeah but it's, what I mean is, the main building where this event is going to take
84		place, he just, if you want to change like carpets, OK, I agree with that, but you have
85		to change all the carpets on, in the whole university.
86	Ine	in the university
87	Con	No, no, no, no, it's so crazy
88	Mon	You are not going to be able to do that
89	Con	I agree with you, you go-
90	Ine	I think it, it's not bad. The other building are clean and the one which he is visiting
91		and he's staying and the banquet and so on, so on, uh, is the, it has to be clean and
92		ready and decorated and I, You see my point?
(SP: 45-92)		

in CH, Xing suggests spending two thousand pounds for a tea party and has then to deal with criticism and counter-proposals from the others:

32	Xin	Good. I think I will spend about two thousand pounds uh, to hold a tea party to
33		welcome this VIP and uh, if this visit goes well I mean uh, it finished successfully,
34		the staff and security guards will get a reward. This sum of money should be two
35		thousand pounds and I will give two thousand pounds to the VIP as cash, so he'll be
36		very happy and I'm going to be very happy.
37	Various	@@@
38	Pin	But I think uh, uhm, spend two thousand pounds uh, is very very ch. uh, expensive
39		and I think it's only uh, one, one thousand pounds or one thousand five hundred
40		pounds to, to give a tea party, tea party to welcome VIP. It's my opinion.
41	Xin	Oh, give the person one, one thousand Oh yeah.
42	Lei	I suggested two thousand, between two thousand and three thousand pounds to the
43		tea party because it's a very important part for us to welcome them and uhm food
44		and drinks are necessary and it may be we can invite some band to give us some
45		show. It'll be, it'll be nice.
46	Xin	Yeah, yeah, yeah.
47	All	@@@
48	Lei	OK
49	Pin	But I think if we spend two thousand pounds or uh, three thousand pounds to uhm,
50		welcome them uhm, the VIP uhm, uhm, to give him uhm we are relative luxury in
51		this aspect, I think.
52	Qin	It is, you think two thousand is too much?
53	Pin	Mmm.
54	Qin	But what do you think about three thousand for furniture are also very much?
55	Pin	The too much-
56	Lei	But I think the furniture must be to, to repaired or cleaned. The furniture is necessary
57		for the university, you know. The university, essential of the one university maybe
58		first its equipment and uh, the maybe the some environment. If the VIPs see this
59		kind of environment is good, so maybe they will think the, the quality of this
60		university is good. I think it's necessary for uh, a university to put maybe five
61		thousand to ten thousand uhm, pounds this kind of things such as pa..uh, repairing,
62		painting and uhm, cleaning and uh, introduce some new, new furnitures. Yes. That's
63		my opinion.
(CH: 32-63)		

The SP extract has 36 turns for 471 words (ratio 1:27) while the CH extract has 11 turns for 367 words (ratio 1: 33). While the CH extract is characterised by impersonal language ('the sum of money should be', 'spend two thousand pounds is very very expensive') and measured tones ('I think if we spend two thousand pounds to welcome them, we are relative luxury in this aspect') the SP one is direct ('we have to spend', 'You are not going to be able to do that ') and boisterous ('No, no, no, no, it's so crazy'). The CH extract has 3 instances of 'you' for its 367 words (1:122) while the SP extract has 17 (1: 27).

Most of the remaining homogeneous conversations are similar to the SP one, with much discussion of proposals, in short-ish turns, 'you' orientation and little reticence when it comes to supporting or undermining other participants. AM, as has been

noted, is rich in backchannelling and collaborative turns, EN and NO conversations have a large number of turns where one participant directly challenges another, engaging him or her personally and NI stands out for the familiarity with which interactants deride each other’s ideas in quite personal ways:

88	Com	Your own country, no, I’m not diversing because your own country spends more on
89		your president’s security than other countries would spend on his security. I hope you
90		know that. W-
91	Jos	It depends.
92	Com	It depends on what? But it doesn’t mean you are going to have to spend so much, I’m
93		talking of somebody coming
94	Jos	I think, I think (.....) spend a lot of money. You should agree with me that
95		when a person gets a, when he gets a place-
(NI: 88-95. See also NI: 61, 103, 119, 205)		

GE seems to be more measured and distant, at least in its earlier stages. Sofia’s idea of using students to create publicity material, for example, is approved of by Katia and Luise without any reference to Sofia herself; similarly, Greta argues against the proposal by taking the idea apart, rather than undermining the proponent, as one of the NI participants may have done (GE 78-95). GR is similarly moderate, with little in the way of direct challenges and mutual support among interactants. Rather than approve Philip’s suggestion for spending money on a banquet, for example, Gregory flatly responds by saying that it is ‘something we should consider in mind’ (GR : 40); the tenor of the whole conversation is on the distant, formal side, without there being any unfriendliness or antagonism.

IN is similar to many of the EWL conversations in that there seems to be a conflict of conversational styles. Sukvinder, the self-appointed Chair, uses a high involvement style, making great efforts to include the other speakers by calling on them as ‘you guys’ (IN: 1, 5, 8, 36, 45, 61, 64, 72, 88, 92, 97, 107) and directing questions and appeals to them (IN: 15, 21, 23, 27, 30, 64, 81, 96-97), the other

participants use a more independent, distant style with impersonal suggestions (IN: 11-12, 17-19, 24-26) and laconically stated facts (IN: 75, 76-77).

4.4. Conclusion

Looking at all the conversations as if participants were sharing a uniform co-operative style, it is clear that the urge towards convergence is greater than that towards divergence. That said, the EWL conversations show a greater tendency towards convergence than the homogeneous ones, as is made clear by the charts below (Figs 3 and 4). The data reported in the charts has been obtained by bundling together all coded instances of convergence signals (unmarked laughter, humour, accommodation, collaborative turns, backchannel signals, suggestions which have been hedged or toned down, explicit agreement and concessions) and divergence signals (unhedged points, intensified demands, unmarked requirements, challenging questions). The fact that participants in CH, GE, GR and IN may have been striving for co-operation in a different way, using ‘high-considerateness’ style, does not appear to have made any difference to the overall look of the chart. The only striking piece of data is the high incidence of convergent behaviour for AM.

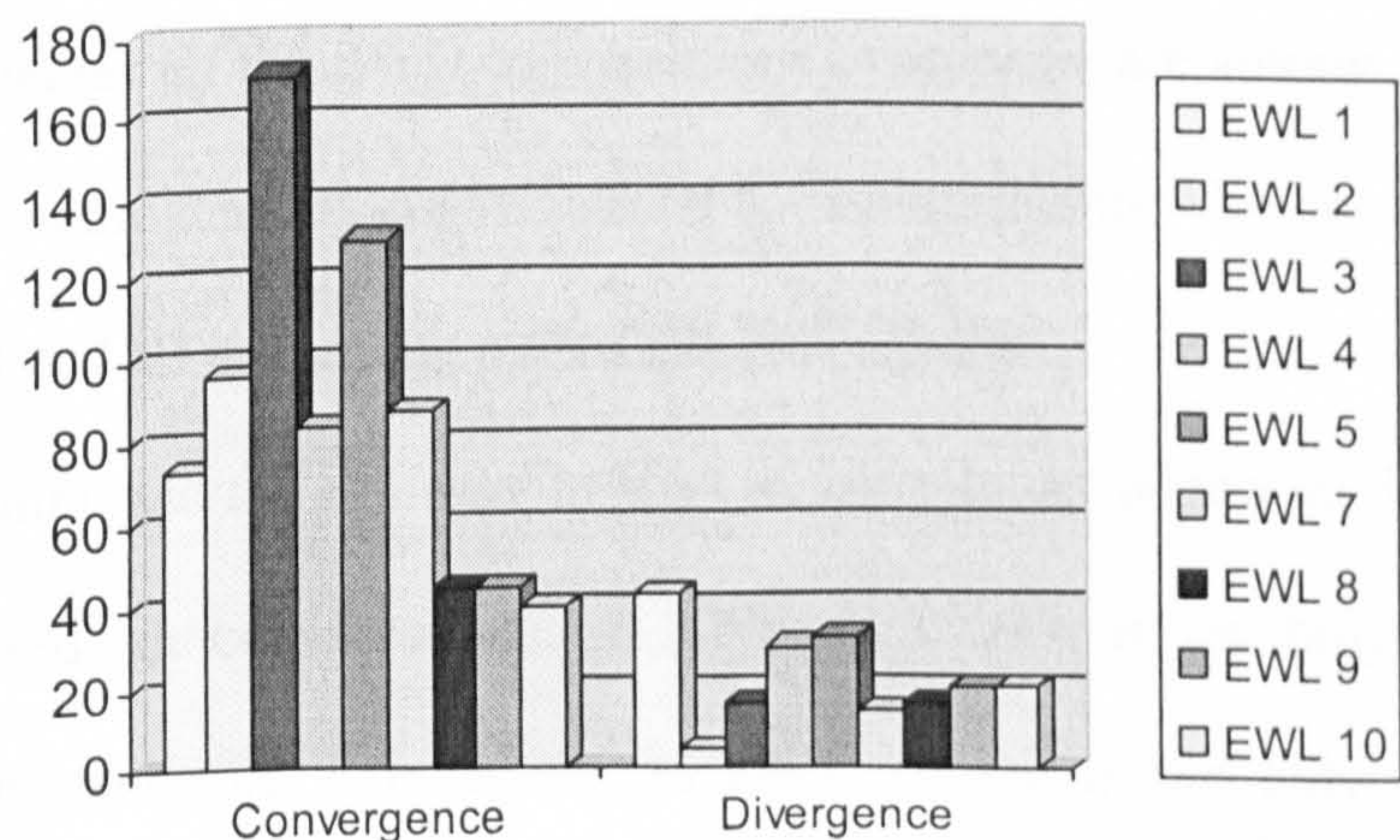


Fig. 3 Convergence and divergence in EWL conversations

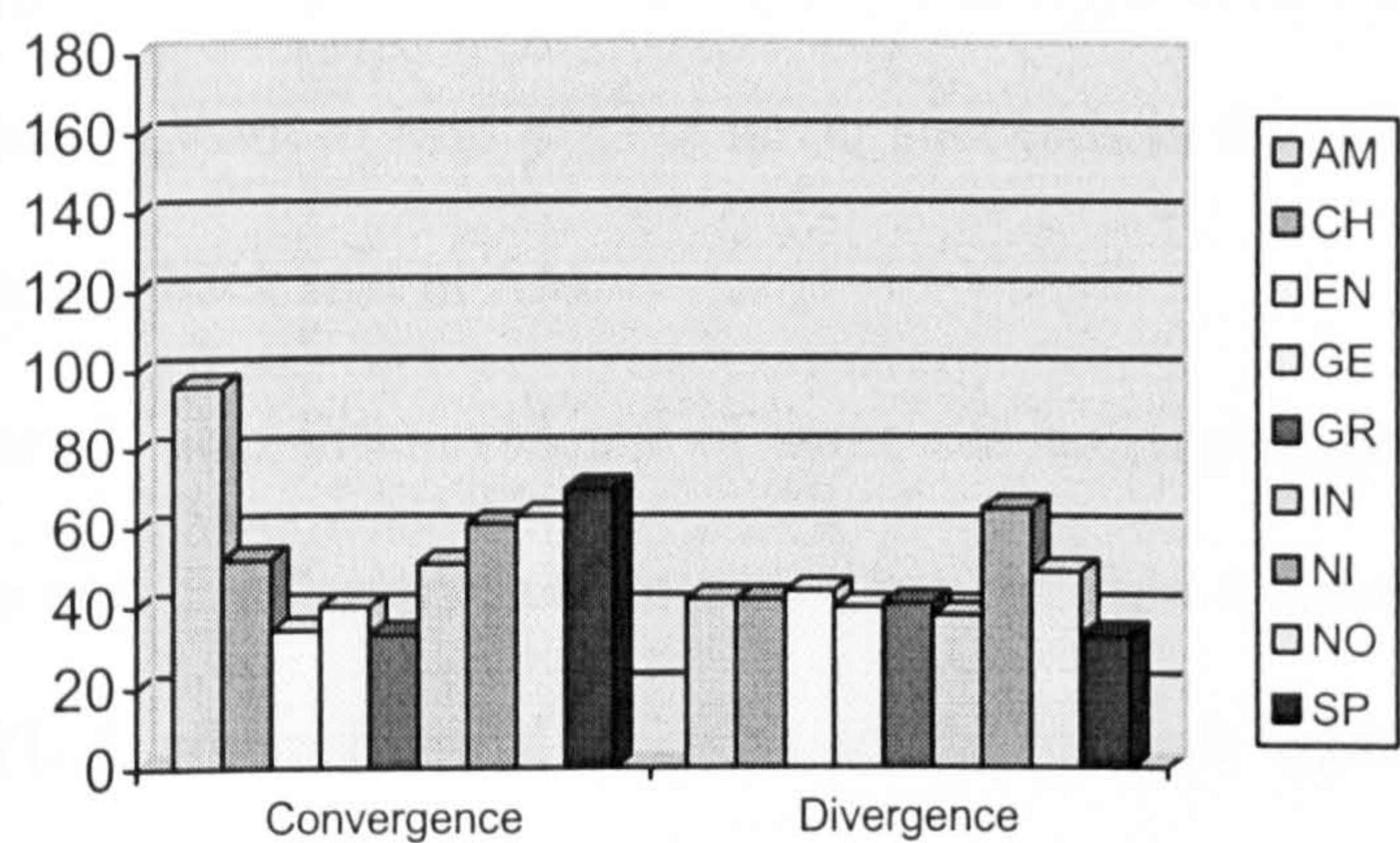


Fig. 4 Convergence and divergence in homogeneous conversations

5. Explanations

In Chapter 7, different turns in the two conversations under scrutiny were explained by reference to a number of different speaker factors: sex/gender, cultural background, interactants’ perceptions of the meeting framework (including connected perceptions of assumed or acquired rights) and participants’ perceptions of each other. The same four categories will each be used in turn to propose explanations for language behaviour in the remaining conversations.

5.1. Sex/Gender

Whereas all the EWL conversations except one are among mixed-sex groups, six of the homogeneous conversations have participants who are all of the same sex. AM, EN and NI are among mixed sex participants.

Contrary to the evidence in EWL 6, men do not appear to dominate in the remaining mixed-sex conversations. In EWL 1, Stavros is the only man and he assumes a dominant role. Conversely, in EWL 3 Lina is the only woman, yet she quickly becomes the dominant force. Derek takes the leadership position in EWL 2, in which

Ping is the only woman, while Ana leads EWL 5, in which Chat is the only man. Ian seems to want to lead EN but never succeeds in doing so, while Milne seems happy to take a back seat in AM.

There is also little evidence of same-sex collaboration in mixed-sex conversations. The only EWL conversation which evolves into a collaboration between two men is EWL 4, where Richard and Kris appear to work together to the exclusion of Pallu and Bai. In all the other conversations, there appears to be little or no solidarity among members of the same sex; high levels of convergence cannot, therefore, be explained in this way.

5.2. Cultural Background

It was noted in Chapter 7 that turns in EWL 6 may have been influenced by speakers’ perceptions of each other, and of themselves, as culturally situated in the North, South, East or West constructed cultural areas. These cultural divisions very roughly represent the comparative economic dominance of the North over the South and the dominance of the West over the East in terms of establishing the interaction rules for the current intellectual or academic elite. In the remaining EWL conversations fourteen participants may be thought of as situated in the North/West cultural area as follows:

EWL 1	Stavros, Anne
EWL 2	Derek
EWL 3	Lina
EWL 4	Kris
EWL 5	Susy
EWL 7	Betty, Anja, Magda, Greta, Claude
EWL 8	Mary

EWL 9	John, Angela
EWL 10	No representatives

Skeleton profiles of all these participants are given in Appendix C. Mary is included here because, although geographically from the Southern hemisphere, her background situates her in the cultural North and West.

In their respective EWL conversations, these participants tend to use a conversational style characterised by ‘involvement’ (or ‘solidarity’, ‘connection’, ‘acceptance’, ‘interpersonal face’; see Chapter 5, Section 7.2.1) inasmuch as their turns are more marked for both convergence and divergence than those of speakers situated in ‘South-’ or ‘East’- constructed cultures. The average convergence marker score per conversation for these interactants is 29, compared to 19.5 for participants in the South/East cultural area, while the average divergence score is 6.5 compared to 4.6. The extent to which the use of divergence markers is a feature of North/West-situated speakers would require further research, given that the tendency is not totally clear from the present data. In EWL 1, Stavros uses 20 divergence markers while the South/East-situated Gauri uses only 2; the pattern is similar in EWL 3 (Lina 15, Ahmed, Ke and David 1 or 2 each), EWL 5 (Susy 14, Chat and Lei 2 and 7 respectively) and EWL 8 (Mary 12, Yong, Haluk and Joseph 3 or 4 apiece). EWL 7 is among interactants who are all North/West, EWL 10 among interactants who are all South/East and in Conversations 2 and 9 there is little use of divergence markers overall. But this pattern of divergence markers being used predominantly by North/West speakers is somewhat disturbed by Richard, in EWL 4 and Ana in EWL 5. Richard, culturally situated in the South, has 17 divergence markers (while Kris, a North/West participant, has only 2) and Ana, situated in the East, has 20 to Susy’s 14.

Further evidence of involvement style used by North/West interactants may be found in their higher levels of 'you' orientation. In EWL 1, for example, Anne and Stavros make frequent use of 'you' oriented behaviour (1: 50, 75, 76, 82, 84, 106, 139, 147) in stark contrast to Gauri. Lina, Susy, Betty, Mary and John are similarly 'you' oriented in their respective conversations (EWL 3: 20, 25, 47, 65; EWL 5: 63, 172, 258, 276, 315, 347; EWL 7: 32-7, 120, 257; EWL 8: 4-5, 40, 47, 103, 123-4, 216, 220; EWL 9: 93, 178, 217-8).

The 'you' factor in the homogeneous conversations was given a little attention in Section 4.1.3. above: no pattern was found to be evident. It is noticeable, however, that the group with the lowest 'you' count is CH, possibly connected to a considerateness style, predicted from the literature on the subject.

High Involvement conversation style also involves participants' approving of others, bolstering so-called 'positive face'. Again, the presence of the North/West participants in the EWL conversations provides the cultural reason for a fairly high incidence of explicit agreement and approval. Derek, Susy and Betty use many such approving moves (EWL 2: 19, 22, 66, 70, 143; EWL 5: 40, 101, 161, 252, 341, 364; EWL 7: 73, 81, 117, 132, 215) while Lina is almost overwhelming (EWL 3: 23-4, 55, 74-5, 140-50, 264-72). In EWL 4, Kris does not behave in a similar way, which might be explained by the fact that he does not have a leadership role. On the other hand, the explanation might go in the opposite direction: Kris does not emerge as leader because he does not use the associated conversational style.

More evidence of high involvement among North/West participants comes in an examination of collaborative turns and backchannel signals: speakers seem to enter into collaborative turns and to provide backchannelling signals in order explicitly to support other interactants:

220	Lei	Uhm, but, uhm, as I think, uhm, because we, we really do need, uhm, perfect banquet
221		for the visit-
222	Sus	Ummm.
223	Lei	Because we need to give him a impression of our University and our welcome to him
224		and, uh, to end up with a very happy feeling-
225	Sus	Yeah
226	Lei	But, uhm, how, how can i, we, we are still, uhm, university and we don't make profit.
227		We are not commercial, you know..
228	Sus	Hmmm.
(EW5: 220-228. See also EWL 2: 95-106, 144-9; EWL 3: 28-34, 143-8, 245-8, 256-9, 262-71; EWL 5: 45-7, 54-61, 84-91, 156-161, 200-212, 274-9, 352-5; EWL 7: 199-206, 311-9; EWL 8: 128-31, 154-6; EWL 9: 168-72)		

Similarly, there are a couple of instances of accommodation involving these interactants which seem to show them accommodating to other participants in order to support them. In EWL 3, for example, Lina echoes David (3:301-3) and Susy seems to be supporting Lei and Chat when she echoes Lei's use of 'atmosphere', and Chat's 'It's worth' (EWL 5: 98-101, 160-61). Finally, in EWL 9, John appears to be accommodating to Sammi: his decision to say 'Do we need to pay it? seems odd here, unless seen in the light of Sammi's previous turn. (EWL 9: 198-201).

The homogeneous conversations do not show any significant patterns in this area: the distribution of collaborative turns, explicit convergence, backchannelling and accommodation is uneven across the conversations with highs in AM and SP and a low in EN. The two 'East' groups, CH and IN, are at the high middle and low middle points respectively when it comes to these types of turns and the 'South' (NI) group has a similar rating to CH (See Fig 4 above).

This might suggest that North/West speakers emphasise high involvement styles when in an international setting. A closer examination of this possibility will be conducted in the following chapter.

5.3. Perceptions of the meeting generic framework

Whereas participants' sex/gender seems to have little effect on conversational language, their cultural background, on the contrary, appears, then, to have some

bearing. Equally, the meeting setting in itself, whether perceived of as a committee meeting or as a negotiation meeting, appears to have had a determining influence on participants' conversational behaviour. Further, participants' perceptions of the meeting setting may themselves be partly culturally determined.

5.3.1. Leaders

The cultural construction of the committee meeting suggests a Chair who, impartially, ensures that all other participants have a fair chance to put their points and make their case. The negotiation construct, on the other hand, might suggest two or more sides each trying to gain the upper hand while temporary alliances are formed in order to see off opposing sides. In the case of a negotiation for the spending of funds, the classically constructed meeting might have a manager who is ultimately responsible for expenditure.

In the conversations under scrutiny, it will be remembered that participants were not specifically instructed to act as a committee or to act as business-style negotiators. No participant was asked to be Chair or manager in any conversation. Some conversations were conducted along committee lines, while others seem more like negotiations. In either case, most of the EWL conversations have a clear leader, as EWL 6 had Milne and Hao (see Chapter 7, Section 2). Where the leader sees him or herself as a committee Chair, or as an 'inclusive' manager, the resulting conversational style is likely to be strongly convergent. Where the leader perceives her or himself to be a more authoritarian manager, the style will naturally be somewhat different.

In EWL 1, Stavros quickly emerges as the self-appointed Chair and succeeds in channelling other participants' suggestions through him, while appearing to take

overall responsibility for the final outcome, in particular by making general summary statements about how the money will be spent (EWL 1:59-68). He uses 28 convergence signals, more than anyone else in the conversation (Gauri 15, Anne 13 and Comfort 10).

The Chair role in EWL 2 seems to be adopted by Derek who, unlike the other participants makes seemingly objective evaluations of the proposals put forward. Like Stavros, his conversational style is one of high involvement and he also uses more convergence markers (40) than anyone else (Ping 20, Bayeh 10, Yan 9).

EWL 7 also has a clear Chair: Betty assumes this role shortly after her entry into the conversation and, like Stavros and Derek, makes persistent use of a high involvement conversational style. The convergence markers noted in her turns total 60, far outweighing those used by other interactants (Anja 26, Greta 23, Magda 18, Claude 10).

In EWL 4 Richard appears to take more control than the other three participants but more in a managerial way than as a Chair. In a rather unsubtle way, he uses a high involvement strategy to challenge others head on, calling them to collective responsibility. The high incidence of convergence markers he uses (37, compared to 20, 13 and 5) may therefore, once again, be explained in terms of Richard's perception of how negotiation meetings should be conducted and of himself as leader.

In Conversations 3, 5 and 8, the control role is adopted by Lina, Ana and Mary respectively. In all cases, the role is definitely managerial: Lina appears to give herself the right to challenge the others, presumably since she feels the responsibility for bringing the proceedings to a proper outcome, more than the need for ensuring everyone has a voice. Ana's role in EWL 5 is similar, while Mary succeeds in having all turns channelled through her. As with Stavros, Derek and Richard, Lina and Mary

use more convergence markers than the other participants (Lina 68, compared to 52, 25 and 16, Mary 26, compared to 15, 12 and 7). The very even distribution of convergence markers in EWL 5 (Susy 53, Ana 53, Chat 49, Lei 33) will be dealt with below (3.1.2.).

In the remaining conversations (9 and 10) John and Shray appear to take on a leadership role but in much less obvious ways than their counterparts in Conversations 1-5, 7 and 8. John is very low key, occasionally reminding other participants of their responsibilities, while Shray, in a similarly low-key way, seems to be the only participant with the right to change topic and to bring participants' proposals together. The number of convergence markers associated with these two speakers is not high compared to other speakers in the same conversations. EWL 10 is, indeed, the least meeting-like of all with one participant, Mala, trying on several occasions to establish, unsuccessfully, some sort of order. Perhaps this might explain the relatively high number of convergence markers attributed to her: 27, compared to Shray (12), Fang (13) and Qing (4). Sarraj's score of 22 cannot easily be explained by reference to the meeting setting.

As can be seen, Chairs and managers are more likely to be North/West-situated participants, but there are two very noticeable exceptions in Richard (EWL 4) and Ana (EWL 5).

Most of the homogeneous conversations seem to work more like committee meetings than business negotiations and most have no clear Chair figures or leaders of any kind. There is one strong exception to this and a couple of weaker ones. In IN, Sukvinder takes the role of Chair and dominates the conversation from the beginning onwards. He is responsible for half the instances of 'you' in the whole conversation and for half the total number of convergent turns. In AM, Sindy seems to be keener

than others to make sure everyone is heard and appreciated, without really taking on a thoroughgoing leadership role. Her large share of the backchannelling signals in the conversation gives her one third of all the convergence turns (there are four participants in the conversation). In EN, Ian clearly attempts to take the chair, reminding participants of the general parameters and appealing to speakers to make concessions. His use of 'you' accounts for one third of the total use and nearly a third of all convergent turns (there are five participants in the conversation).

Otherwise, speakers in the homogeneous conversations tend to share the responsibility for making procedural comments: George and Gregory both do so in GR (GR: 96-97, 144), Fang and Lei in CH (CH: 83, 157), Greta, Anne and Sofia in GE (GE: 48, 71-72, 177), David and Comfort in NI (NI: 175, 207-209) and Karen and Hedda in NO (NO: 29, 42, 233).

5.3.2. Other, non-leader roles

If the meeting or negotiation setting allows some participants to see themselves as leaders, and therefore pivotal to the discussion, it will make others see themselves as somehow directed towards the lynch-pin figure. In some cases, this means interactants see themselves in a subordinate position and their language use will likely be affected accordingly. In others, participants may well decide to challenge the leader figure, using the meeting setting to behave in ways which they might not normally consider acceptable.

In the EWL conversations which have been identified as including a clear Chair or manager figure (Conversations 1-5, 7 and 8) the non-pivotal speakers all direct most of their turns towards the central figure or figures.

In EWL 2 and 3, there are clear examples of a leader – subordinate relationship. After having presented her initial proposal, Ping (EWL 2) does little more than provide backchannelling signals and signs of explicit agreement against Derek's responses to her (EWL 2: 15-39). Whenever she speaks at later stages, it is usually to agree with, or in any case simply to acknowledge other speakers. Bayeh and Yang are less subservient but nevertheless address themselves predominantly towards Derek.

In EWL 3, a pattern soon emerges with Ke and then David making suggestions which are challenged by Lina, leading to climbdowns in all cases with a great deal of backchannelling and agreeing on the part of the two men. (EWL 3: 47-64, 72-83, 111-123). When Lina puts forward her proposal for refreshments, David and Ke once again pull out their agreement signals (162-184). Their self-imposed subordinate role may account for the relatively high number of convergence markers noted for them in the conversation overall (Ke 52, David 25). This pattern is also apparent in EWL 5, where Chat and Susy often find themselves backchannelling against Ana. The difference is that these sequences do not lead to Chat and Susy accepting Ana's challenge to their proposals (EWL 5: 1-36, 44-61). Their backchannelling signals do account, however, for well over half and over a third of their respective convergence marker totals (Chat 28/49, Susy 18/53).

EWL 1 seems to be characterised, on the contrary, by a sense of insubordination on the part of all three non-pivotal participants, who nonetheless do not challenge Stavros for the Chair position (EWL 1: 50, 75, 77, 106, 131-4). Anne eventually mellows, addressing herself more tentatively towards the Chair (154-5) and Gauri, too, becomes more compliant. Comfort seems to refuse this role and goes out of the conversation with a joke (171-2).

In EWL 4, Pallu responds to Richard, in the first instance, and then to both Richard and Kris, without subordinating herself to them but also without attempting to take the pivotal position from them. In EWL 8, the rather heavy-handed, humourless tone set by Mary is mirrored in the other participants who do not easily accept her authority but who nevertheless do not attempt to take the leadership position from her.

EWL 7 is perhaps most committee-like of all the conversations. All participants address themselves to Betty, but do not, seemingly, cast themselves as subordinates. Where they mark their turns for convergence, this is, presumably, to do with their overall willingness to make the meeting work. Their number of marked turns is low compared to Betty's because she takes such a central role throughout the conversation.

The relative lack of leaders in the homogeneous conversations is mirrored by a corresponding lack of subordinate (or insubordinate) turns. In IN where, as has been noted, there is a definite leader, the other participants do not challenge Sukvinder's leadership, but neither do they adopt subordinate postures. In all of the other homogeneous conversations, the behaviour of the participants suggests that, even where a weak leader seems to want to emerge, the others do not collude in allowing this to happen. Sindy and Ian (see above) are often side-lined into silence, for example, with participants bouncing ideas off each other, rather than channelling them through a Chair figure. This factor may account for the lower amount of convergence markers in the homogeneous conversations.

5.4. Interactants’ perceptions of each other

A fairly obvious explanation for the greater amount of convergence in the EWL conversations compared to the homogeneous ones is simply that members of a group of people sharing comparatively little, culturally speaking, are likely to make more effort to be open and responsive towards each other than are people who share common ground.

Convergent behaviour in the EWL conversations may also be accounted for by referring to how speakers see each other in terms of comparative maturity, responsibility and language competence. Results from the preliminary surveys show that fourteen participants were considered by their peers to have a high level of responsibility and maturity, while six were thought of as having a high level of language competence. At the other end of the scale, one participant was considered to have a low level of maturity and responsibility and seven were thought of as having relatively poor language skills. The relevant results reported in Chapter 7 are summarised below in Table 12.

	Maturity and responsibility		Language competence	
	High	Low	High	Low
EWL 1	Stavros Gauri			Comfort
EWL 2	Derek		Ping	
EWL 3		Ke	Lina	Ke
EWL 4	Pallu Richard			Bai
EWL 5	Susy Ana Lei		Susy	Chat
EWL 6		Hedda	Milne Hao	
EWL 7	Betty			
EWL 8	Joseph Mary			Yong
EWL 9	John Sammi	Angela	John Sammi	Boon Xing
EWL 10	Mala		Sarraj	

Table 12: Participants perceptions of each others’ responsibility, maturity and language competence

Higher-rated participants tend to use more convergence signals, perhaps to show solidarity with lower-rated ones. Because many of the higher-rated interactants are also those situated in North/West cultural constructs, their role in collaborative turns, as well as their accommodation tactics and their use of backchannelling signals has already been dealt with (See Section 5.2 above). It is no coincidence that these high-rated participants also find themselves frequently in leader positions, accounting for further use of convergence signals (See Section 5.3.1. above).

There are, however, some instances of convergent behaviour which have not been explained by cultural background or by reference to participants' perceptions of the meeting setting. In EWL 7, for example, where all participants are North/West-situated, Betty stands out as self-appointed Chair and as a relatively prodigious user of convergence turns. As can be seen from the above table, she is singled out among all participants in EWL 7, as having a high level of responsibility and maturity. The way in which she accommodates to Claude may be the result of this perception (EWL 7: 217-8).

All the other people who are thought of as having a high level of responsibility and maturity, as well as the three South and East-situated participants considered to have relatively good language competence, show a high level of convergence markers compared to other interactants. Richard, Ana, Sammi and Mala all have the highest number of convergent turns in their respective conversations while Joseph and Gauri are in second place to North/West-situated Mary and Stavros respectively in their conversations.

While these high-rated participants seem to use convergence signals to include their weaker co-interactants, there is a high rate of backchannelling signals at the other end of the language competence scale. In particular, Ke in EWL 3 and Chat in EWL

7 show a very high amount of backchannelling turns (25 and 28 respectively, compared to 10, 8 and 1 for the other three participants in EWL 3 and 18, 11 and 4 for the others in EWL 7. While this may be put down to personal idiosyncrasy, it may also be the case that, being perceived of as less competent than the others, they do their best to sound involved and at one with the general run of their conversations.

6. Conclusion

When a comparison is drawn between EWL conversations and conversations among speakers in homogeneous groups, little in the way of lexical difference can be observed. What differences there are seem to do with conversational style: participants in EWL conversations are more co-operative than those in homogeneous conversations and the desire to achieve interactional goals is more intense. Speakers who do not make great efforts to achieve overt comity in homogeneous conversations nevertheless do so in EWL ones; these speakers are mainly culturally situated in the North/West or are in any case more mature, responsible or linguistically competent than other participants.

The discourse of EWL conversations is therefore characterised by a leaning towards involvement style rather than its opposite, but largely because speakers who can most easily use this style do so with more vigour in an international context than they do in a homogeneous one.

The following chapter will attempt to examine further the extent to which participants bring with them characteristics of their 'home' style when they find themselves in cross-cultural contexts.

Chapter Nine

Results: six case studies

1. Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted general similarities and differences between EWL and homogeneous conversations. It was found that there was little difference in vocabulary use and in the strategic use of convergence markers while a noticeable difference emerged in the way speakers signalled divergence, more strongly in the homogeneous conversations than in the EWL ones. The chapter concluded with some explanations for more convergent behaviour in EWL conversations.

This chapter will provide a closer study of six individual speakers who appear in both EWL conversations and homogeneous ones. Through these case studies it may be possible to confirm the conclusions drawn in Chapter 8 or indeed to add further detail to the overall picture.

The seventeen speakers who appear in both homogeneous and EWL conversations are given in Table 13 below:

Speaker	EWL Conv.	Homog Conv
Betty	7	English
John	9	English
Susy	5	English
Ping	2	Chinese
Fang	10	Chinese
Bai	4	Chinese
Lei	5	Chinese
Milne	6	American
Comfort	1	Nigerian
Joseph	8	Nigerian
Shray	10	Indian
Greta	7	German
Sofia	6	German
Anne	1	German
Stavros	1	Greek Cypriot
Lina	3	Norwegian
Hedda	6	Norwegian

Table 13: Individual speakers participating in both EWL and homogeneous conversations

From these seventeen, six speakers have been chosen, who seem to be fairly representative of particular groups.

Greta and Bai have in common the fact that they learned English in adolescence and in an environment where English has become very relevant only fairly recently; they are very different, however, in that Greta is culturally situated in the North/West while Bai's culture is considered to be situated in the constructed East. Greta's other languages are all Indo-European, while Bai's other language is Chinese. Bai was considered by her peers to have a relatively low language ability, while Greta's peers did not make any particular comment in this area. Greta may therefore be said to have much in common with, obviously, the other German participants and also with the five Norwegian participants. Less obviously, she shares a great deal with the Spanish participants and, perhaps, the Greek Cypriots. Bai may clearly be said to represent the Chinese (and perhaps the Hong Kong Chinese) participants.

Comfort and Shray both learned English in childhood at the same time as they were learning another language or other languages. They can thus be said to have learned to appropriate English to facets of their identity, or to have developed English-influenced identities, to a greater extent than have Greta or Bai. Each of their learning environments was one in which English had historical national relevance. They could both be said therefore, again to a greater extent than Greta or Bai, to have entered an English-speaking community within their own country. They are very different from each other, however, in that Shray is culturally situated in the East while Comfort's education is likely to have been far more Western influenced. Comfort is a woman while Shray is a man. Comfort may be said to represent the other Nigerian speakers and Shray the other Indian speakers.

Susy and Milne both learned English in early childhood without learning another language at the same time. Any further language learning they took part in was in adolescence or later. Their identities and community allegiances are therefore more

singly oriented than Comfort's and Shray's. The difference between them is minimal; like Comfort and Shray, there is a sex difference between them; culturally speaking, they are both situated in the North/West.

For each pair of speakers three areas will be considered: the extent and type of participation in both conversations, use of words and conversational styles.

2. Greta and Bai

2.1. Participation and Role

In her homogeneous conversation, Greta's participation is very close to the fair level, where 'fair' is the total number of turns in the conversation, divided by the number of participants. There are five participants and Greta's turns account for 1 in 5.5 of all turns; the fair level would, naturally, be 1 in 5. Bai, on the other hand, is a less active interactant in the Chinese conversation, contributing only one turn in every 8.5: with six speakers participating, the fair level is therefore 1 in 6.

Both Greta and Bai reduce their level of participation in their respective EWL conversations, Greta by a small amount – she contributes 1 in 6.2 of all turns, while Bai rather more dramatically, 1 in 12 turns.

Greta's slightly different participation rate in the two conversations is paralleled by one of her co-nationals: Sofia has a similarly slightly reduced participation rate in her EWL conversation, compared to the homogeneous one. The other German speaker for whom relevant data exists is Anne, who shows the opposite tendency: she participates more in EWL 1 than she does in the GE (1 turn in 4.9 compared to 1 in 9.5). Greta's reduced participation rate in EWL 7 may be due to the fact that there is a 'native speaker' in her group but, given that the reduction is very small, may be of no consequence at all. The increase in Anne's participation rate may have to do

with the fact that, in her EWL conversation, she is one of the two North/West participants.

Bai ranks low in both her conversations. In the homogeneous conversation, Fang comes close to her with one turn in 7.8, while Ping and Lei are both slightly ahead of the 'fair' 1 in 6 level with 1 in 4.8 and 1 in 4.25 respectively. The situation in the EWL conversations shows that Bai is the exception among the Chinese speakers for whom there is relevant data: Ping and Fang both participate at beyond the 'fair' level in their EWL conversations, while Lei's participation is only just below 'fair' level. Bai's 1 in 12 turns is, by contrast, a sparse result. The other participants in her conversation are either men (Richard and Kris), North/West situated (Kris) or older than her (Richard 24, Kris 23, Pallu 22 – Bai is 19). Of all the participants in her EWL conversation, Bai was the only one rated with low language proficiency by her peers.

Where Greta and Bai are concerned, then, it would seem that participation levels in EWL conversations may have to do with sex/gender, cultural situation and perceived language proficiency. A summary of relevant data is given in Table 14 below.

Speaker	EWL Conversation		Homogeneous conversation	
	Speaker Turns/ Total turns	ratio of speaker turns to total turns (‘fair’ ratio)	Speaker Turns/ Total turns	ratio of speaker turns to total turns (‘fair’ ratio)
Bai	10/124	1:12.4 (1:4)	12/102	1:8.5 (1:6)
Greta	44/274	1: 6.2 (1:5)	19/105	1.5.5 (1:5)
Sofia	54/263	1:4.8 (1:5)	25/105	1:4.2 (1:5)
Anne	16/78	1:4.9 (1:4)	11/105	1:9.5 (1:5)
Ping	26/87	1:3.3 (1:4)	21/102	1:4.8 (1:6)
Fang	73/291	1: 3.9 (1:5)	13/102	1:7.8 (1:6)
Lei	53/267	1: 5 (1:4)	24/102	1:4.25 (1:6)

Table 14 Speaker turns for German and Chinese participants

Turning to the question of role, neither Greta nor Bai takes a leading role in their respective conversations. It was pointed out in Chapter 8 that, with one exception, the homogeneous conversations were leaderless, or had only shadowy leaders. In the German and Chinese conversations, no leader figure seems to emerge at all: where Greta and Bai do not occupy leader-like positions, neither are they particularly submissive or apparently led. Greta makes two major proposals using an inductive discourse strategy, as though she feels she must earn the right to put forward ideas:

42	Gre	Well, you know I, I think I would like to come in with something that we should also
43		not forget. I think PR is really important so uh, Khofi Annan coming here is just once
44		in a lifetime thing that will happen. I think we should actually have a film crew here
45		and follow, follow him all the time and make proper videos so that we could use that to
46		market the University and actually bring revenue into the University and that's
47		something that should be professionals and I would like about five thousand for that.
(GE: 42-47)		

71	Gre	Yeah I think that's a good idea because we have the new campus, we mustn't forget
72		this so uh, rooms and uh, equipment there are already fairly new and I think uh, we can
73		take advantage of all these things. So I think we can really cut down the money in these
74		areas, seatings, speaker system and decoration and then maybe actually spend money
75		on, on the film crew. Because I honestly think if we create good marketing material
76		that will again bring money into the University. Students. Bums on seats. And that will
77		bring money.
(GE:71-77)		

Bai's albeit deductive approach to suggesting painting the buildings is nevertheless weakly expressed:

19	Bai	I think uhm, such as painting as the outside of the building uhm, if they come, they
20		will, it is appeared in their mind firstly-
(CH: 19-20)		

In her EWL conversation, EWL 7, Greta adopts a submissive role vis-à-vis the emergent leader (Betty) but no more so than the other participants who are all women and all culturally situated in the North/West. Unlike her stance in the homogeneous conversation, she seems to assume that the meeting situation gives her certain speaker's rights which she uses in order to make points using a deductive strategy (EWL 7:8-13) and to challenge, openly, other participants:

209	Gre	On the other hand, I mean, uh, to be quite honest, I think he could also deliver, uh, a
210		speech at the banquet. I'm not quite sure that we actually would need a whole-
211		something that should be professionals and I would like about five thousand for that.
(EWL 7:209-211 See also EWL 7: 214, 279)		

This may be because, as has been noted, EWL 7 is the most meeting-like of all the conversations. In her role-adoption in the EWL conversation, she is, however, similar to Sofia, who, in her EWL conversation, also uses a deductive strategy to put forward her proposal (EWL 6:1-4) and to both Sofia and Anne, who confront other participants head on:

86	Ann	But we've got seven thousand pounds budget; why should be only spend two
87		thousand?
(EWL 1:86-87) See also EWL 1: 75)		

38	Sof:	You don't think that the VIP, important person uhm not has security of his
39		own?
(EWL 6: 38-39 See also EWL 6: 127, 202-204)		

Bai, on the other hand, adopts a clearly submissive role in EWL 4. She prefaces her first turn with 'No idea', perhaps as an apology for her suggestion and completes it with an appeal to the other participants (EWL 4: 69-71). She does make a go of holding out for her original proposal to spend five thousand pounds (EWL 4:93, 97, 99) but uses an inductive strategy to make her point, suggesting that she does not feel she has the automatic right to state an opinion but needs to earn it through reasoning (EWL 4:108-9). When she does give in, she does so without a whimper:

171	Kris	Yeah, the, then I probably should go down five hundred more-
172	Bai	How about three thousand, three thousand pounds for security?
173	All	@@@
174	Bai	It's still a lot?
175	Ric	Yeah, it's still a lot.
176	Bai	Uhm, I think two thousand.
(EWL 4: 171- 176).		

The other Chinese speakers do not necessarily share Bai's general approach to role. Ping, for example, gets in very early in her EWL conversation with a seemingly

confrontational question (EWL 2:2), uses a deductive approach to make her proposal (EWL 2:15-18) and does not balk at tackling other participants (EWL 2:134) albeit not exactly head on. Lei and Fang also assume the role of those who have the natural right to propose (EWL 5:67-72; EWL 10: 29-34) and, although not confrontational, do stick doggedly to their plans, without making easy concessions:

267	Lei	Yes I know. Uhm, I know, uh, we, we can get internal help to reduce the cost
268		but I still want a very high quality of film recording because, uhm, if it is
269		dealing to the, uh, impression of, of the university, I really need the film is very
270		good. If, if I spent five thousand elsewhere for advise that thing, or anywhere
271		else, uhm, it's not like, uhm, VIP in the film in our university and I don't want
272		to miss it around or can't find (..) where he is or hiding (...)
(EWL 5: 267-272)		

64	Fan	Yeah but I still, I still want to spend three thousand for the trans, translation.
(EWL 10: 64)		

Bai and Greta seem, therefore, to adopt different roles in the two different conversations. Bai's abandonment of a deductive strategy and her relative submissiveness in the EWL conversation may simply be the result of her feeling somewhat inferior, coupled with her seemingly natural shadowy role. Greta, on the other hand, seems to need to carve out her role as proposer in her homogeneous conversation while assuming the immediate right to her ideas in the EWL one.

2.2 Use of words

The twenty most frequently used words for Greta and Bai are as follows:

GRETA		BAI	
Hom Conv	EWL Conv	Hom Conv	EWL Conv
27_i	30_i	8_the	6_think
19_we	15_a	6_for	6_i
15_that	14_the	4_only	6_thousand
13_think	12_yeah	3_i	4_a
13_the	12_uh	3_and	4_five
13_and	11_think	3_think	4_security
12_to	11_to	3_we	3_pounds
11_be	10_and	2_as	3_the
10_would	9_on	2_is	3_people

8_you	9_that	2_not	3_is
7_a	8_have	2_much	3_we
7_money	8_would	2_painting	2_no
7_uh	7_of	2_uh	2_how
6_so	6_we	2_they	2_in
6_should	6_it	2_erm	2_because
6_but	5_mean	2_thousand	2_it's
6_could	5_but	2_too	2_lot
5_good	5_two	2_films	2_three
5_well	5_an	2_will	2_two
5_will	5_banquet	2_you	2_very

Table 15 Top twenty most frequent words for Greta and Bai

Many of the words are the same in both the homogeneous and EWL conversations for the two participants, showing that speakers have a general tendency to use a similar lexicon in both settings. Where there are differences, these are usually easily explicable.

Bai's frequent use of 'for' and 'only' in the Chinese conversation is accounted for by a lengthy false start where the two words are twice repeated (CH:137-139). Greater use of 'a' in the EWL conversation is accounted for by the simple fact that Bai needs to refer to singular countable nouns in that context. It may also be an indicator of lack of shared knowledge. The use of 'painting' in the homogeneous conversation is paralleled by 'security' in the EWL one: they represent Bai's spending proposal in each case. The only curiosity seems to be in the use of 'pounds' in the EWL conversation, or rather the non-use of the item in the homogeneous one. Bai seems to be following, and perhaps accommodating to, other participants in EWL Conversation 4 by using 'pounds' in monetary expressions. The other participants in the Chinese conversation also make extensive use of 'pounds', but Bai chooses not to follow them or to accommodate to them. It is possible that her lack of accommodation in the homogeneous conversation is at one with her more positive role there, where her perceived weakness in the EWL conversation leads her to imitate the other participants.

Greta carries over an extensive use of ‘would’ from her homogeneous conversation to the EWL one but does not parallel this with similar extensive use of ‘could’ and ‘should’. It has already been noted that, if anything, she is more tentative among her national peers than in an international context and her reduced use of the more tentative modal verbs seems to confirm this. Against this, she makes frequent use of ‘yeah’ in her EWL conversation – twelve instances which, combined with two instances of ‘yes’ compares strikingly with only four instances of ‘yeah’ (and none of ‘yes’) in the German conversation. This would seem to indicate greater disposition towards convergence in the EWL conversation.

She also carries over from her homogeneous conversation to the EWL one frequent use of the expression ‘I mean’ (four instances in GE, five in EWL 5).

Finally, like Bai, she makes fairly frequent use, in the EWL conversation, of the word connected to her budget proposal (‘banquet’) but makes less frequent use of the equivalent word (‘film’) in her homogeneous conversation.

The type of vocabulary used by Greta and Bai is very similar indeed, as is shown in Table 16.

	EWL		HOMOG	
	Greta	Bai	Greta	Bai
K1 Words (1 to 1000):	81.72%	85.29%	86.10%	84.85%
K2 Words (1001 to 2000):	3.74%	2.94%	2.67%	3.03%
AWL Words (academic):	3.30%	3.92%	3.62%	3.54%
Off-List Words:	11.23%	7.84%	7.62%	8.59%

Table 16 Greta and Bai’s words by type

As can be seen, the use of different types of word is very similar in the two types of conversation. The only seemingly outstanding figure is Greta’s 11.23% of ‘off-list’ words in her EWL conversation.

Examining this 'off-list' in comparison to Greta's 'off-list' of words from her homogeneous conversation, little emerges which is worthy of note. In both conversations, Greta uses 'off-list' words in order to talk about specific budgetary proposals (7 words in each conversation), and to refer to the University or to the VIP visit in general (3 words in each conversation). Some 'off-list' word use is accounted for by false starts and hesitations: there are slightly more of these in the EWL conversation than in the homogeneous one. Greta coins a word 'extravagandic' in her EWL conversation and uses the word 'seating' in a plural form, twice, in the homogeneous conversation. Both these items are 'off-list'. Her use of 'yeah' and 'ok' is also 'off-list' and, has been mentioned, there is more of this in the EWL conversation than there is in the homogeneous.

What is left is of some interest: in the EWL conversation, two of the remaining 'off-list' words are marked for formality: 'calibre' and 'liaise' while the two remaining 'off-list' words in the homogeneous conversation are, conversely, marked for informality: 'bums' and 'dump'.

If this evidence can be considered weighty enough, Greta's only concession to the EWL setting is to abandon informal language and to increase the formality of her speech, while increasing the amount of hesitation words. At all events, it is a performance not repeated by either of the other two German interactants in EWL conversations who also participate in the German homogeneous conversation. Both Anne and Sofia use 'off-list words only to deal with proposal or university specific issues, to hesitate or in false starts, to agree using 'yeah' and 'ok' and for one coinage, in the same mould as 'seatings'. Beyond this, Sofia uses two words on the formal side, 'surroundings' and 'negotiate' in the homogeneous conversation.

2.3. Conversational style

Consistent with the results reported in the previous two sections, Greta’s overall performance is generally more marked than Bai’s. The latter speaker’s low level of participation means that it is difficult to identify trends in her conversational style. The only possibly relevant fact is that her style is more marked for both convergence and divergence in her homogeneous conversation than in her EWL one: normalised results for the two conversations are presented in Figure 6 below:

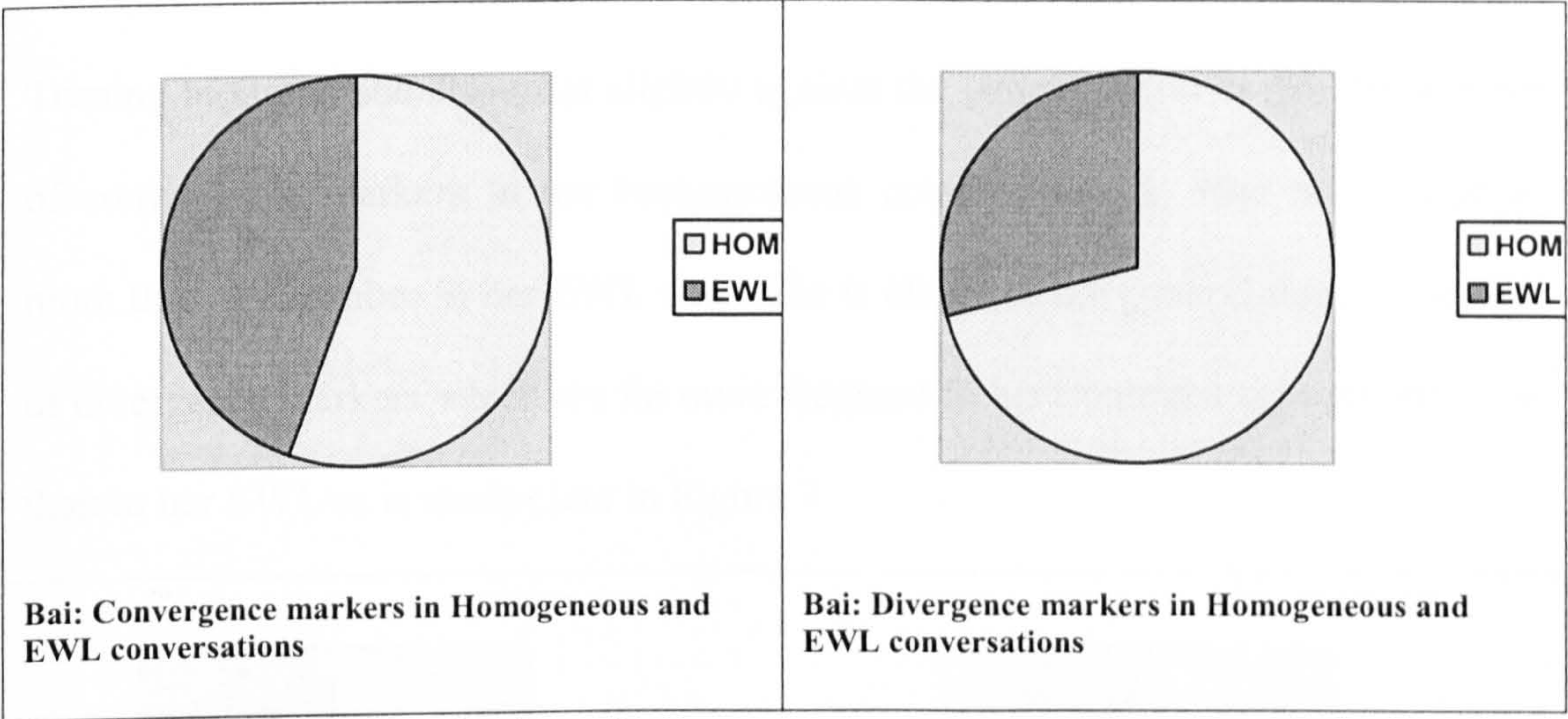


Fig. 6 Bai – conversational style markers

The slightly higher rate of convergence markers in the EWL conversation is comparable to other speakers’ performances but cannot be taken as particularly meaningful here. The higher level of both sorts of marking in her homogeneous conversation may be the result of her feeling more comfortable in that situation. Bai does not appear to be typical of the Chinese speakers. The other three members of the homogeneous Chinese group who are also speakers in EWL conversations have, after normalisation, more marked utterances in the latter speech events than in the former. Both Ping and Lei use considerably more convergence markers in their EWL conversation than they do in their homogeneous one, while for Fang it is the reverse. When it comes to divergence makers, the situation is much more systematic,

with all three using a more divergent style with their national peers than they do in the international setting. A summary of Chinese participants’ convergence and divergence marking is given in Table 17 below.

Name	Convergence Markers		Divergence Markers	
	EWL Conv.	Homog Conv	EWL Conv	Homog Conv
Bai	2	2.5	1	2.5
Ping	20	7.4	0	10
Fang	13	33	4	5.6
Lei	33	13	7	20

Table 17 Chinese speakers – conversational style markers

Turning to Greta, she also goes slightly against the general trend in that the number of convergence markers in her homogeneous conversation is, after normalisation, more than the number in her EWL one. She is closer to the general trend in her use of divergence markers which are far more frequent in her homogeneous conversation than in her EWL as is made clear in Figure 7.

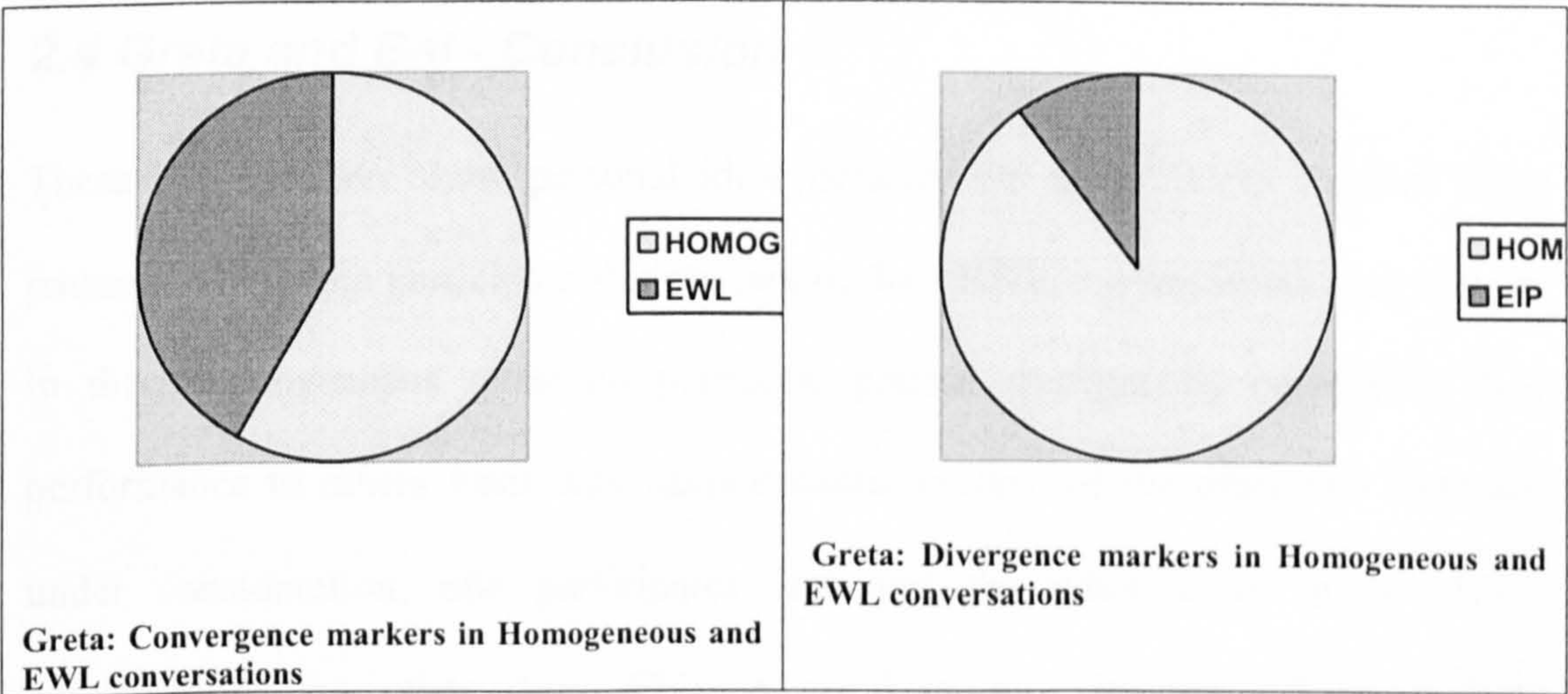


Fig. 7 Greta – conversational style markers

A possible explanation for her slightly lower than expected use of convergence in her EWL conversation may be that EWL 7 is among speakers who are all from the North/West, it is a well-chaired meeting which, as has been stated, runs more along traditional meeting lines than any of the other EWL conversations, and thus, perhaps,

accords Greta (and the other speakers) the right to express ideas without having to make many efforts at establishing and maintaining comity.

The other two German speakers who also participate in EWL conversations show a similar but less dramatic profile. They both have slightly more convergence markers in their homogeneous conversation than in their EWL ones; Sofia, like Greta, uses far more divergence marking in her homogeneous conversation than she does in her EWL one, whereas Anne does the reverse, using many divergence signals in her EWL conversation. Table 18 provides a summary.

Name	Convergence Markers		Divergence Markers	
	EWL Conv.	Homog Conv	EWL Conv	Homog Conv
Greta	23	32	4	34
Anne	13	16	7	1.5
Sofia	27	28	8	17

Table 18 German speakers – conversational style markers

2.4 Greta and Bai - Conclusion

These two speakers show personal idiosyncrasies but nevertheless confirm some patterns. They both participate slightly less in their EWL conversations than they do in their homogeneous ones; no particular pattern emerges by comparing their performance to others from their homogeneous groups: of the other two Germans under consideration, one participates less and the other more in her EWL conversation; the other three Chinese speakers all participate fully in both conversations.

While Greta seems to switch strategy from one conversation to the other, Bai uses a similar strategy in both.

Both Greta and Bai use a very similar lexicon in their homogeneous conversation to the one they use in their EWL one. Interestingly, Greta uses more tentative expressions but fewer expressions of agreement in her homogeneous conversation.

When it comes to conversational style, nearly all German and Chinese participants make substantially greater use of discourse marking in their homogeneous conversations than they do in their EWL ones and all save one use noticeably more divergence marking in their homogeneous conversations than they do in their EWL ones.

3 Comfort and Shray

Unlike for Bai and Greta, there is little or no robust comparative information available for Comfort and Shray: among Comfort's co-nationals, there is only one, Joseph, who is a participant in both the homogeneous, Nigerian conversation and an EWL one. The other Indian participants in EWL conversations did not take part in the homogeneous Indian conversation.

3.1. Participation and Role

Comfort is a more prolific participant in her homogeneous conversation (NI) than she is in her EWL one. In the former, she contributes a total of 56 turns out of the 171 for the whole conversation, a rate of one turn in three, where the fair proportion would be one in four. She clearly feels at home among her co-nationals. In EWL 1, on the other hand, her turns number 11 out of a conversation total of 78, making the ratio one in seven, with the fair proportion, again, being one turn in four. Joseph

makes a similar contribution to Comfort’s in NI but, unlike Comfort, contributes at the fair level in his EWL conversation.

Shray’s participation in both conversations is very close to the fair proportion: he contributes 62 of the 291 turns in his EWL conversation, a ratio of one to four point six, where the fair ratio would be one to five, and 49 of the 171 turns in his homogeneous conversation, or one turn in three point four, where the fair ratio would be one in three. Table 19 provides a summary for Comfort, Joseph and Shray.

Speaker	EWL Conversation		Homogeneous conversation	
	Speaker Turns/ Total turns	ratio of speaker turns to total turns (‘fair’ ratio)	Speaker Turns/ Total turns	ratio of speaker turns to total turns (‘fair’ ratio)
Comfort	11/78	1:7 (1:4)	56/171	1:3 (1:4)
Joseph	26/116	1:4.4 (4)	49/171	1:3.4 (4)
Shray	62/291	1:4.6 (1:5)	17:59	1.3.4 (1:3)

Table 19 Speaker turns for Comfort, Shray and Joseph

Comfort’s relatively low participation rate in her EWL conversation may be put down to several different factors: she is, with Gauri, culturally situated in the South, where two of the other participants are North/West (Stavros and Anne). She is also a woman in a conversation dominated by a man (Stavros). Gauri, however, also situated in the ‘South’, as well as the ‘East’, also a woman, has a participation rate much closer to the fair one. The culture and gender explanations do not hold particularly well. What may be more relevant is Comfort’s perceived language level: where Stavros and Gauri are both accorded high levels of language skill and maturity by their peers in the EWL conversation, Comfort is considered to have a lower level of language ability than anyone else. If this perception somehow made itself apparent in the conversation (and there is nothing very evident to that effect) then it might account for Comfort’s relative reticence.

Turning to the question of role, it has already been noted (Chapter 8, Section 5.3.1) that EWL Conversation 1 is clearly led by Stavros who establishes a certain tone to the meeting which Comfort seems least willing to accommodate to. She enters the conversation in a very forthright way, giving the impression that she has the perfect right to make her point, using a deductive discourse strategy. Further, she carries over the somewhat rhetorical style she uses in her homogeneous conversation, where she also introduces her proposal with a deductive strategy, making considerable use of emphatic repetition. If she uses this strategy and this style designedly to imply she has an upper hand, it does not seem to work and she seems forced to leave the conversation for a while (EWL 1:26). When she re-enters (EWL 1:124) she uses the same approach and, again, does not make her mark.

Comparison with Joseph shows some similar tendencies: like Comfort, Joseph carries over a markedly confrontational role from the Nigerian conversation to his EWL one. He enters the EWL conversation, for example, by explicitly ridiculing another interactant's idea:

6	Jos I think spending such money on security would be ridiculous. (EWL 8:6)
---	--

Unlike Comfort, however, he uses a more inductive discourse strategy in both conversations to present his own ideas and unlike Comfort, he holds his own in both the EWL conversation and the homogeneous one. His gender may have something to do with it, as might the perception of his language competence and maturity, both rated highly by the other participants in EWL 8.

Shray, in contrast to Comfort, is a dominant force in his EWL conversation, which, it will be remembered, is unique among the EWL conversations in that all participants

are South/East situated. He is one of two men in the conversation, but has a lower perceived language ability than the other man, Sarraj.

His domination, however, stems from the fact that he succeeds in channelling other participants' proposals through himself and trying to knock them down. He does not present his own proposal properly until near the end of the conversation, having built up the right to do so through his previous argumentation. This strategy is a little similar to his inductive approach in the Indian conversation where he is careful to present reasons before declaring his spending wishes.

Other Indian participants in EWL conversations also seem to achieve success by constructing the right to their ideas though the use of inductive strategy. In EWL 1, Gauri never seeks to wrest the leadership role from Stavros, but nevertheless succeeds in achieving her budgetary aim and continuing to participate fully in the proceedings; Sarraj, though less dominant than Shray in EWL 10, nevertheless succeeds in making his point and holding on to his monetary request, having made the point through an inductive process.

3.2. Use of Words

Comfort and Shray's twenty most frequent words in their two conversations are given in Table 20 below.

COMFORT		SHRAY	
Hom Conv	EWL Conv	Hom Conv	EWL Conv
50_you	24_to	15_the	23_uh
35_to	17_he	11_security	22_i
24_we	13_be	10_to	22_you
20_i	12_i	8_that	16_to
18_need	11_is	7_so	14_can
17_that	7_like	6_person	14_and
16_it	7_the	6_will	14_ycah
16_know	7_thousand	6_is	13_a
16_the	6_just	6_i	12_the
14_don't	6_and	5_our	12_that

14_are	6_comfortable	5_think	12_for
13_so	6_for	5_vip	12_is
11_for	5_people	5_we	11_it
10_be	5_conference	5_what	11_think
10_have	5_has	4_on	10_not
10_and	5_needs	4_be	10_thousand
10_is	5_going	4_for	9_how
9_much	5_well	4_percent	9_it's
9_like	5_it	4_do	9_be
9_just	4_have	4_university	8_don't

Table 20 Top twenty most frequent words for Comfort and Shray

Similarly to Greta, most of Comfort's high-frequency words in her EWL conversation are the same as most of those in her homogeneous one. Shray is similar to Bai in that he carries over fewer of his words from the one setting to the other. In their choices of words used in EWL conversations, the two participants in question point up some interesting issues.

Comfort uses 'you' fifty times in her homogeneous conversation but only twice in her EWL one. Even after turn-based normalisation, there are still only 10.1 uses of the word. It may be that Comfort, feeling more at ease with her co-nationals, decides not to be confrontational with her EWL co-participants. This squares with the general pattern of greater convergence in the EWL conversations. Conversely, she uses 'he' far more frequently in the EWL conversation than she does in the homogeneous one.

Some of the frequent words in her EWL conversation can be accounted for by Comfort's use of rhetorical repetition, already referred to. She repeats 'comfortable', 'conference' 'needs' and 'going' several times in the turns in which they appear (e.g. EWL 1:14-21, 124).

Like many other speakers, she tends to use the word 'thousand' more frequently in the EWL conversation than she does in the homogeneous one.

Shray uses the word 'security' with great frequency in his homogeneous conversation where, indeed, it is central to his proposal for spending money.

Interestingly, it is also his proposal in his EWL conversation but, in that context, he makes comparatively sparse use of the word. This seems to be because he uses more of his turns in his EWL conversation to argue against other participants than he does to argue for his own proposal. Many of the frequent words unique to his EWL conversation are indices of a more interactive approach, words like ‘yeah’, ‘how’, ‘don’t’ and ‘you’. The fact that his homogeneous conversation is much more managed (by Sukvinder) than his EWL conversation may well account for the greater amount of interaction markers in the latter. It may further be accounted for by the general idea emerging from the data of more convergence in EWL conversations than in homogeneous ones.

Yet again, like other participants, he makes greater use of the word ‘thousand’ in his EWL conversation.

As far as word types are concerned, it is noticeable that Comfort uses almost precisely the same amount of words per range in her EWL conversation as she does in her homogeneous one, while Shray shows some substantial differences. Table 21 provides a summary

	EWL		HOMOG	
	Comfort	Shray	Comfort	Shray
K1 Words (1 to 1000):	88.25%	84.34%	89.05%	85.35%
K2 Words (1001 to 2000):	4.87%	2.01%	4.83%	1.10%
AWL Words (academic):	2.01%	2.16%	1.77%	6.59%
Off-List Words:	4.87%	11.49%	4.36%	6.96%

Table 21 Comfort and Shray’s words by type

As can be seen from the table, Shray uses more K2 words in his EWL conversation than he does in his homogeneous one and more AWL and ‘off-list’ words in the latter than in the former.

His greater use of K2 words in the EWL conversation can be accounted for, again, by the fact that he tackles the other participants about their proposals, where in his

homogeneous conversation, he insists mainly on his own proposal. There are no proposal or event-specific words among the K2 group in his homogeneous conversation; these words count for all the K2 words in his EWL conversation.

The same explanation accounts for the greater number of AWL words in his homogeneous conversation: 'security' is counted as an AWL word, where cameras, frame, translation, for example, are 'K2' words. The greater number of 'off-list' words in Shray's homogeneous conversation could be accounted for in the same way as Greta's slightly higher number in her homogeneous conversation. Shray's 'off list' words in his EWL conversation is swelled by a large number of false starts, hesitations and the agreement words 'yeah' and 'OK'. Other 'off-list' words are, again, connected with proposals other than Shray's.

3.3 Conversational Style

Comfort and Shray seem to have opposite approaches to conversational style inasmuch as Comfort marks her EWL conversation for both convergence and divergence more than she marks her homogeneous conversation whereas Shray marks his homogeneous conversation more than he does his EWL one, as is made clear in Figures 8 and 9 below.

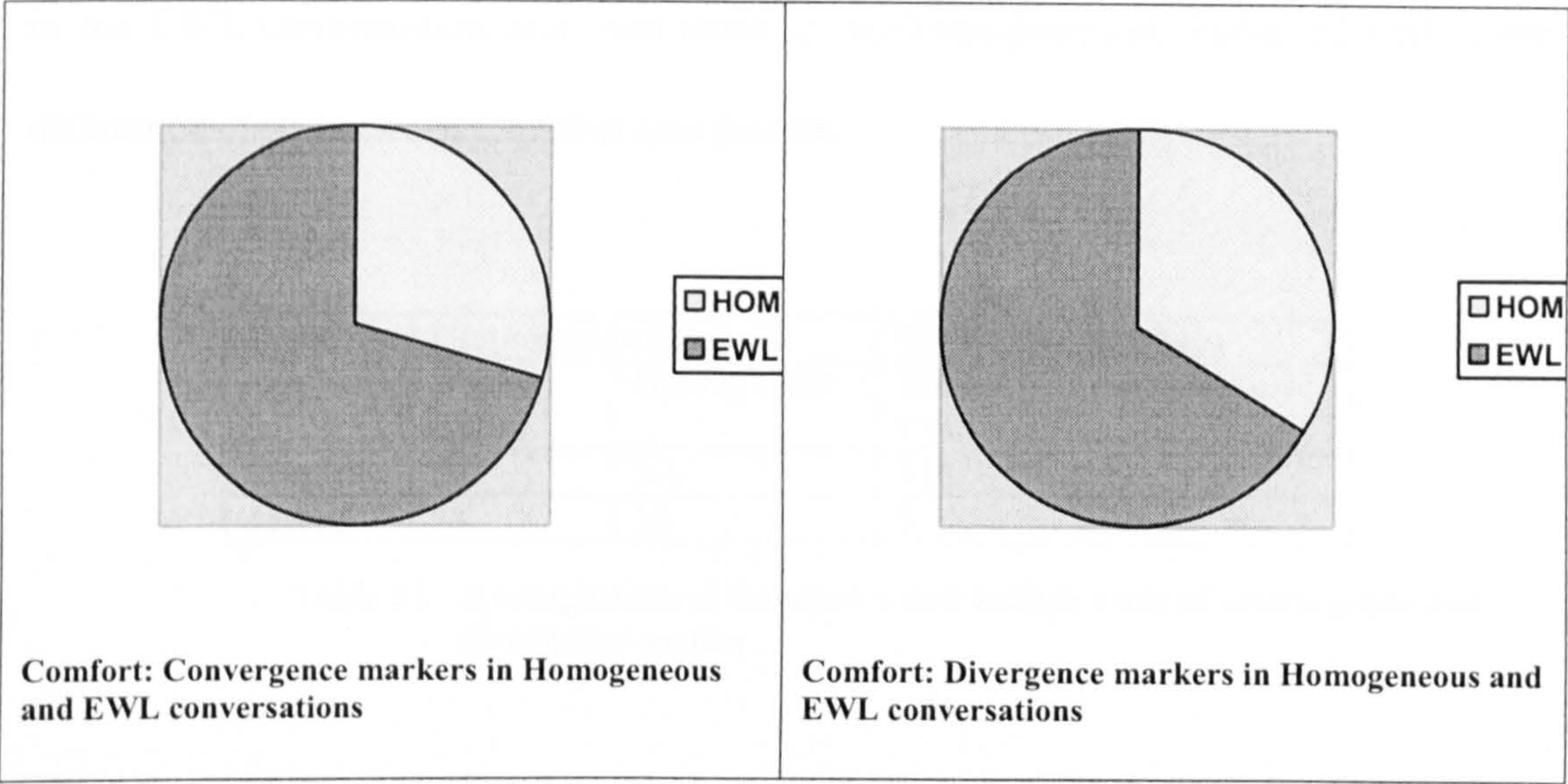


Figure 8 Comfort – conversational style markers

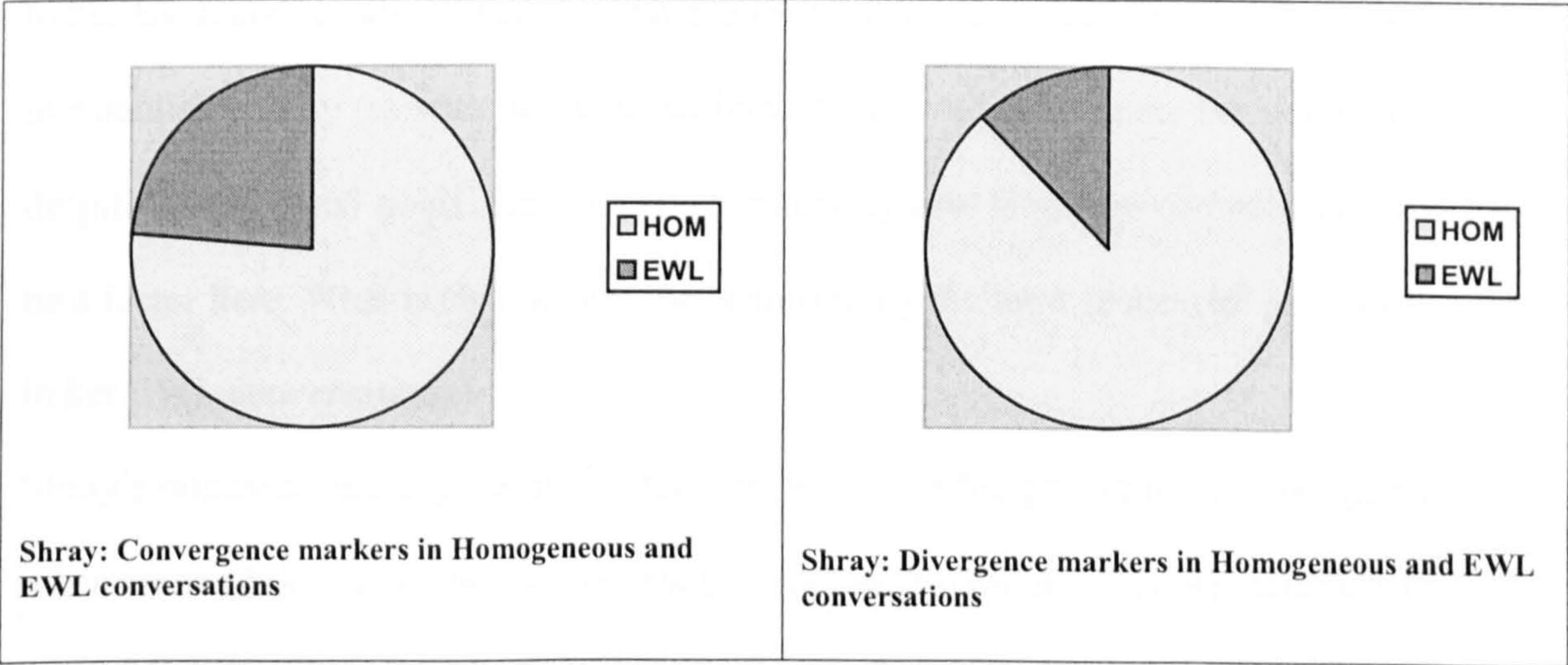


Fig. 9 Shray – conversational style markers

It is clear from Figure 8 that Comfort makes use of many convergence markers in both her EWL and her homogeneous conversations and, consistent with the majority of participants uses more convergence marking when in the international setting than she does when with her co-nationals. Where Comfort seems to differ from most other participants is that she also uses many divergence markers in her EWL conversation, more than she does in the homogeneous setting. The only other Nigerian speaker who is a participant in both types of conversation is Joseph, who

conforms to the mainstream pattern with more convergence markers than divergence in his EWL conversation and vice versa in his homogeneous. Table 22 makes the difference clear between Comfort and Joseph.

Name	Convergence Markers		Divergence Markers	
	EWL Conv.	Homog Conv	EWL Conv	Homog Conv
Comfort	10	5.1	11	5.6
Joseph	15	10	3	8.5

Table 22 A comparison of Comfort's and Joseph's use of convergence and divergence markers

There is no obvious explanation as to why Comfort decides to give greater marking to her EWL conversation: it seems that she feels she needs to make extra efforts both to establish comity (as with all other participants) as well as to make her point clear despite interactional goals. Her perceived relatively low language competence may be a factor here. What is clear is that she is apparently the least successful participant in her EWL conversation.

Shray's opposite profile poses a different puzzle. While his greater use of divergence when among his national peers is consistent with other participants, his greater use of convergence markers in the same situation is not. There do not appear to be any co-ordinate factors to explain this and, unfortunately, no other member of the Indian homogeneous group is a participant in an EWL conversation. A rough comparison may be drawn, however, by looking at the other Indian speakers in either EWL or homogeneous conversations.

After normalisation, the number of convergence markers used by Gauri, Pallu and Sarraj in EWL conversations is consistently higher than the number used by Shray, while the number of divergence markers used is roughly the same for all four people. Shray does, then, seem to fall out of the norm, where his co-nationals are concerned.

The convergence and divergence markers used by Shray in his homogeneous conversation are similar to those of his co-nationals. Any inferences regarding a national tendency to use a more or less equal number of convergence markers as divergence ones would, obviously, require some wide-ranging research in its own right. For the moment, it seems sufficient to say that Shray's performance in his homogeneous conversation seems normal, where his interaction in his EWL conversation is deviant. Table 23 provides a summary.

Name	Convergence Markers		Divergence Markers	
	EWL Conv.	Homog Conv	EWL Conv	Homog Conv
Shray	9	28.9	5	36.34
Gauri	24		5.5	
Pallu	16.5		4.1	
Sarraaj	20		8	
Sukvinder		29		14.5
Pravin		34.8		29

Table 23 Indian or Hindi speakers – conversational style markers

3.4. Comfort and Shray - Conclusion

Despite similar English language backgrounds, Comfort and Shray are quite different in their approaches to their two conversations.

Comfort seems quite at ease in her homogeneous conversation where she addresses others head on and achieves a high level of participation. In her EWL conversation, however, she is not very successful, seeming to be unwilling, or perhaps unable to participate on the same footing as the other participants. Her perceived low language level has been offered as a possible explanation for this but, at all events, she seems to be trying too hard to achieve both interactional and transactional goals and, as a result, becomes a background figure in the conversation. Interestingly, she does not make any real changes to her overall approach when she shifts from the homogeneous conversation to the EWL one.

Shray, on the other hand, seems almost the opposite: it is true that he is a fair participant in both conversations but really seems to come into his own in his EWL conversation where he takes a leadership role and is generally more interactive. Despite not carrying over his more convergent approach from his homogeneous conversation to his EWL one, he is nevertheless a successful interactant in the latter.

4. Betty and Milne

Betty and Milne both speak in a homogeneous and an EWL conversation, but while Betty may be compared to two of her English co-nationals (Susy and John) who also participate in both types of conversation, the other American participants do not figure in any of the EWL conversations. The extent to which Milne is typical, therefore, will be difficult to evaluate.

4.1 Participation and role

In their homogeneous conversations, both Betty and Milne participate with a number of turns equal to the fair norm. Betty has 75 turns out of the conversation total of 409, giving a ratio of 1 to 5.4. With five interactants in the conversation, she is therefore very close to the fair norm of one to five. Milne contributes 59 of the total of 285 turns in the American conversation, a ratio of 1:4.8. There are four participants in this homogeneous conversation so, like Betty, Milne is close to the fair ratio of one to four.

When it comes to the EWL conversations, the situation is completely different. Betty takes twice as many turns as might be considered fair: she contributes 104 out of the total of 274 turns in the conversation, a ratio of 1:2.6, where the fair ratio is one to

five. As has been noted (See Chapter 8, Section 5.3.1) she takes a leadership role in her EWL conversation and, as such, channels all other participants' turns through her. The reason why the other participants allow her this position may have to do with the perception among her peers of her high level of language competence and maturity. Of the other two English speakers who participate in both types of conversation, John also increases his rate of participation in the EWL setting compared to the homogeneous one while Susy does not; both of them are only just over the fair participation ratio, as is made clear in Table 24 below. John, like Betty, emerges as a leader in his EWL conversation, is one of only two North/West situated speakers and is accorded a high level of language competence and maturity by his peers. Susy is not a leader in her EWL conversation, is the only North/West situated participant and is accorded the same high level of language competence and maturity as two out of the other three participants. Betty's very high participation rate may therefore be put down to purely personal, individual reasons.

Speaker	EWL Conversation		Homogeneous conversation	
	Speaker Turns/ Total turns	ratio of speaker turns to total turns (‘fair’ ratio)	Speaker Turns/ Total turns	ratio of speaker turns to total turns (‘fair’ ratio)
Betty	104/274	1:2.6 (1:5)	75/409	1:5.4 (1:5)
Milne	30/263	1:8.7 (1:5)	59/285	1:4.8 (1:4)
Susy	67/267	1:3.9 (1:4)	86/409	1:4.7 (1:5)
John	40/152	1:3.8 (1:5)	63/409	1:6.4 (1:5)

Table 24 Speaker turns for Milne and English participants

In direct contrast with Betty, Milne is a relatively infrequent contributor to his EWL conversation: with only 30 turns out of 263, he contributes only one turn for every 8.7, where the fair ratio is 1 to 5. One obvious reason for this low level of participation is the fact that he enters the conversation relatively late on. This may be because, as was noted in Chapter 7, he sees himself as a negotiating expert and tries

to assess what is going on before putting his spoke in. He is considered by the others to have a high level of language competence and he may therefore be reticent so as to give others more of a chance to speak. It is unfortunate that there are no other American speakers involved in EWL conversations: Milne's performance may or may not be typical.

While Betty is self-appointed leader in her EWL conversation, she is not a leader in her homogeneous one, where Ian seems to take that role, albeit in a weak way. Betty does carry over, from her homogeneous conversation to her EWL one, her somewhat inductive approach to making her own proposal:

53	Bet	That should come under the University budget anyway. We, we're discussing
54		a budget for our visitor and what I'd like to see was a bi, would be to have
55		some kind of uhm, acknowledgement of the event in terms of the history of
56		the University. Perhaps we could film the event and have, so that it was,
57		would be a record for, you know, part of the showcase idea; a record for
58		future visitors and students. We could put it on our website, show them how
		esteemed we are
		(EN: 53-58)

32	Bet	Mm, yeah. Well, yes, I mean th, that, that's, all these proposals are very nice
33		and very grand, but if you look around you at the university at the moment,
34		it's looking pretty shabby and, you know, it's no good having a wonderful
35		banquet filming when, you know, he's going to be walking past huts with the
36		paint peeling off and dirty carpets with chewing gum on them. Uhm, you
37		know, look over there @@@
38	Anj	@@@
39	Bet	at that wall, for example. So I think there has to be some money set aside for,
40		repairs, painting, uhm, new furniture, so that, you know, what we're filming
41		and what is being seen when they are coming for the banquet and the
42		conference isn't really shame-making. You know, it's no use getting, raising
43		our profile if what people see in this profile and on the filmed record is, you
44		know, peeling walls and broken chairs. So, you know, I would like some of
45		this budget set aside just for basic maintenance, which then we will still have
46		and, you know, for whoever else visits and for us and our students.
		(EWL 7:32-46)

Despite casting herself in the leader role she does not, then, automatically assume the right to put forward her ideas with a deductive strategy. A more obvious concession to her different role in her EWL conversation is her abandonment of the

divergent conversational style: she seems to see herself as very conciliatory in her EWL conversation, where she is confrontational in her homogeneous one.

John is a little similar to Betty in that he does not create a leadership role for himself in his homogeneous conversation while he seems to do so in his EWL one. His role change is, however, less pronounced than Betty's: like Betty, he transfers from the homogeneous conversation to the EWL one his chosen discourse strategy for presenting his own proposal, which is somewhat deductive in both cases, but unlike Betty he seems to be fairly easy-going and conciliatory in both conversations and he noticeably does not want, or allow other participants' turns to be channelled through him. Susy adopts, in part, a similar role change to Betty's: she does not take a leadership role in her EWL conversation but she does become far more obviously supportive of other participants, with a large number of backchannelling signals and far more agreement expressed than in her homogeneous conversation.

Milne does not take a leadership role in the leaderless American conversation and his adoption of the 'expert negotiator' role in his EWL conversation has already been referred to Chapter 7). His role in his homogeneous conversation is, however, remarkably similar to the one adopted in his EWL conversation: he comes across as more of a seasoned negotiator in the EWL conversation because the other participants do not, as he does, evaluate each other's proposals in the same objective way. Milne proceeds in a very similar fashion in his homogeneous conversation where his role is less prominent because the other participants exhibit similar behaviour.

4.2 Use of words

Betty and Milne, like most participants, have a similar word-frequency count in both their conversations. Of Milne’s twenty most frequent words in his homogeneous conversation, nine are also most frequent in his EWL one; of Betty’s top twenty words from her homogeneous conversation, twelve are among the top twenty in her EWL one. The top twenty words in all four conversations are given in Table 25 below.

BETTY		MILNE	
Homog	EWL	Homog	EWL
52_the	52_you	26_to	20_the
49_i	41_to	24_we	20_to
39_to	41_i	19_a	17_and
34_we	40_the	16_it	17_we
30_it	36_we	16_the	13_thousand
25_of	33_and	13_you	12_it
24_you	32_for	12_so	10_that
23_a	30_a	11_be	8_a
23_and	30_yes	11_yeah	8_have
21_that	27_that	9_need	6_two
18_think	25_so	9_but	5_presentation
15_in	25_know	8_of	5_be
15_have	23_of	8_that	5_i
15_be	21_no	8_in	5_need
13_university	21_be	7_because	5_can
11_my	21_it	7_get	5_what
11_what	20_yeah	7_i	4_bottom
11_is	19_well	7_know	4_do
11_for	17_mean	7_would	4_maybe
10_don't	15_going	7_it's	4_on

Table 25 Top twenty most frequent words for Betty and Milne

The most striking set of words appearing in Betty’s EWL top twenty but absent from the equivalent homogeneous list are ‘yes’, ‘yeah’ and ‘no’ with 30, 20 and 21 occurrences each. Betty uses these words once, four times and four times respectively in her homogeneous conversation. Even after normalisation, the figures are still low at 1.38, 5.54 and 5.54. This disparity is at one, however, with Betty’s

change of role from one conversation to the other and also at one with the general result whereby EWL conversations are generally more convergent than homogeneous ones. Incidentally, where Betty uses ‘no’ in her EWL conversation, it is mostly to agree with other participants (EWL 7: 42, 73, 81, 117, 125, 129, 132, 160, 215, 242, 347). Her greater use of ‘so’ in her EWL conversation also fits with her changed role since, as leader, she frequently uses ‘so’ in order to structure the conversation, bringing other participants’ contributions into a meaningful whole:

112	Cla	then, it should be re-negotiated with Building and Estates so that their current,
113		ongoing programme of rebuild, refurbishment and the set-aside budget they
114		must have-
115	Bet	So, so
116	Cla	can be brought in.
117	Bet	Yeah. No. That’s a good point.
(EWL 7: 115) See also EWL 7: 120, 121, 212, 249, 281, 294, 297, 301, 321, 322, 331, 339, 349, 350, 356, 360, 371).		

Similarly the comparatively frequent use of ‘I mean’ and ‘you know’ in her EWL conversation seems to be part of her general, conciliatory approach there, with all save one instances of ‘mean’ being accounted for as a softening device and ‘you know’ being used extensively as a convergence marker:

32	Bet	Mm, yeah. Well, yes, I mean th, that, that’s, all these proposals are very nice
(EWL 7: 32. See also EWL 7: 54, 84, 88, 91, 94, 150, 177, 178, 183, 198, 243, 254, 258, 261)		

Taking the eleven very frequent words used by Milne in his EWL conversation but not in his homogeneous one, at least four are actually also fairly frequent in the latter, although not appearing in the top twenty (‘have’, ‘can’, ‘what’, ‘do’). Of the remaining, two have to do with Milne’s budget proposal (‘two’, ‘presentation’) while one (‘bottom’) is frequent partly because of some repetition over the misunderstood expression ‘bottom line’ (6: 205-208). The relatively high frequency of ‘maybe’ in his EWL conversation can be explained by the general tendency to emphasise convergence, in this case with a hedging word and the comparatively frequent use of

‘thousand’ in other EWL conversations has already been remarked on. Milne’s frequent use of ‘and’ in his EWL conversation must remain an unexplained curiosity, while the comparatively low frequency of ‘yeah’/‘yes’ is at variance with the tendency towards co-operativeness.

When it comes to type of word, Betty is fairly consistent across the two conversations, with only slight or even negligible variations in the given fields. Milne is also fairly consistent except that he uses a noticeably higher percentage of K2 words in his homogeneous conversation. Table 26 provides a summary.

	EWL		HOMOG	
	Betty	Milne	Betty	Milne
K1 Words (1 to 1000):	85.43%	90.81%	86.04%	85.37%
K2 Words (1001 to 2000):	3.18%	2.43%	2.78%	5.85%
AWL Words (academic):	2.42%	1.89%	3.30%	2.19%
Off-List Words:	8.98%	4.86%	7.89%	6.58%

Table 26 Betty and Milne’s words by type

When the actual words are examined it is clear, however, that Milne is not using a much richer vocabulary in his homogenous conversation than he deploys in his EWL one. Twenty-two of the K2 words he uses in the American conversation are specific to the budget proposals (‘cameras’ 5, ‘clean/ing’ 6, ‘cook’ 2, ‘film/ing’ 6, ‘wine’ 3). A further four may be paralleled by two K2 words in his EWL conversation (‘originally’, ‘exactly’, ‘split’, ‘worried’ – compared to ‘attend’, ‘opposed’). The remaining three K2 words in Milne’s homogeneous conversation are more interesting. They are ‘bit’, ‘stuff’ and ‘lot’, all three of which suggest a level of informality which is not present in his EWL words.

4.3 Conversational style

It has already been noted that Betty changes her role in the two conversations and that this entails, at least in part, a change of conversational style. In this respect, she fits the general pattern in the majority of conversations: she marks her turns for convergence more in her EWL conversation than she does in her homogeneous one and does the opposite in marking turns for divergence, as Figure 10 makes clear.

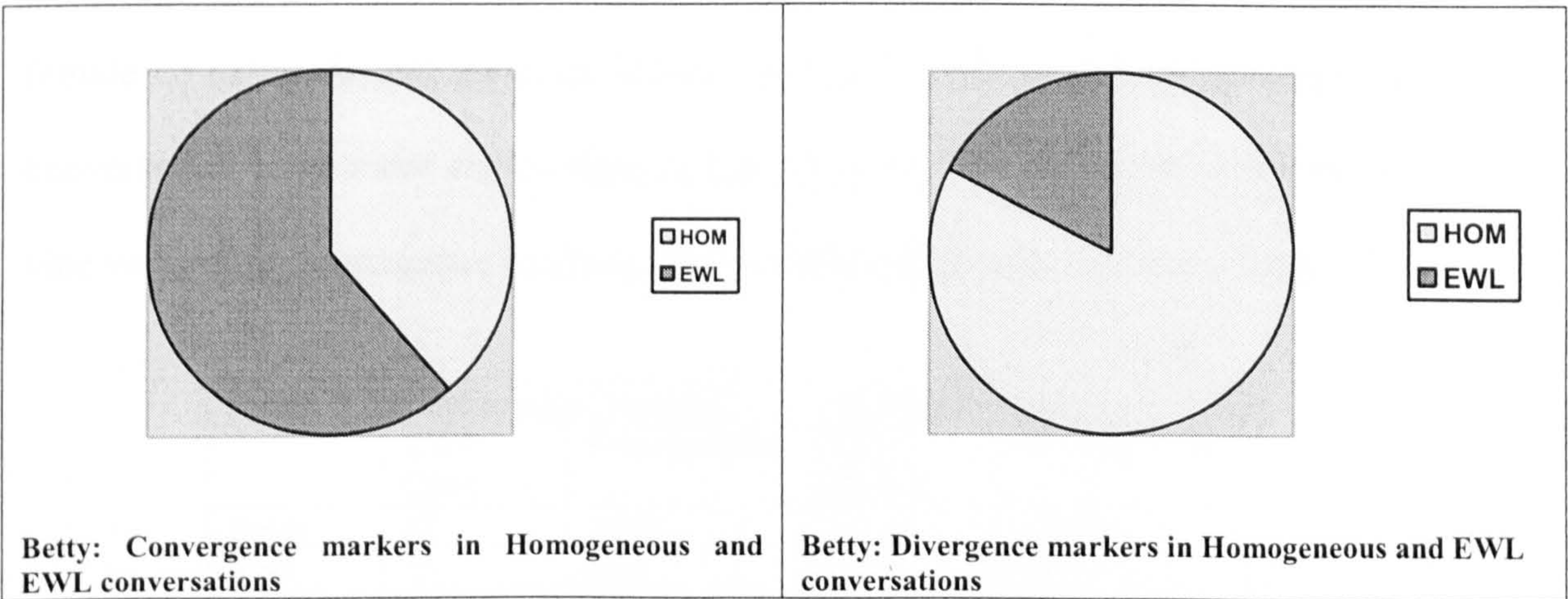


Fig. 10 Betty – conversational style markers

Milne falls slightly outside the general pattern in that he seems to mark his conversational turns for both convergence and divergence evenly across both conversations as Figure 11 makes clear.

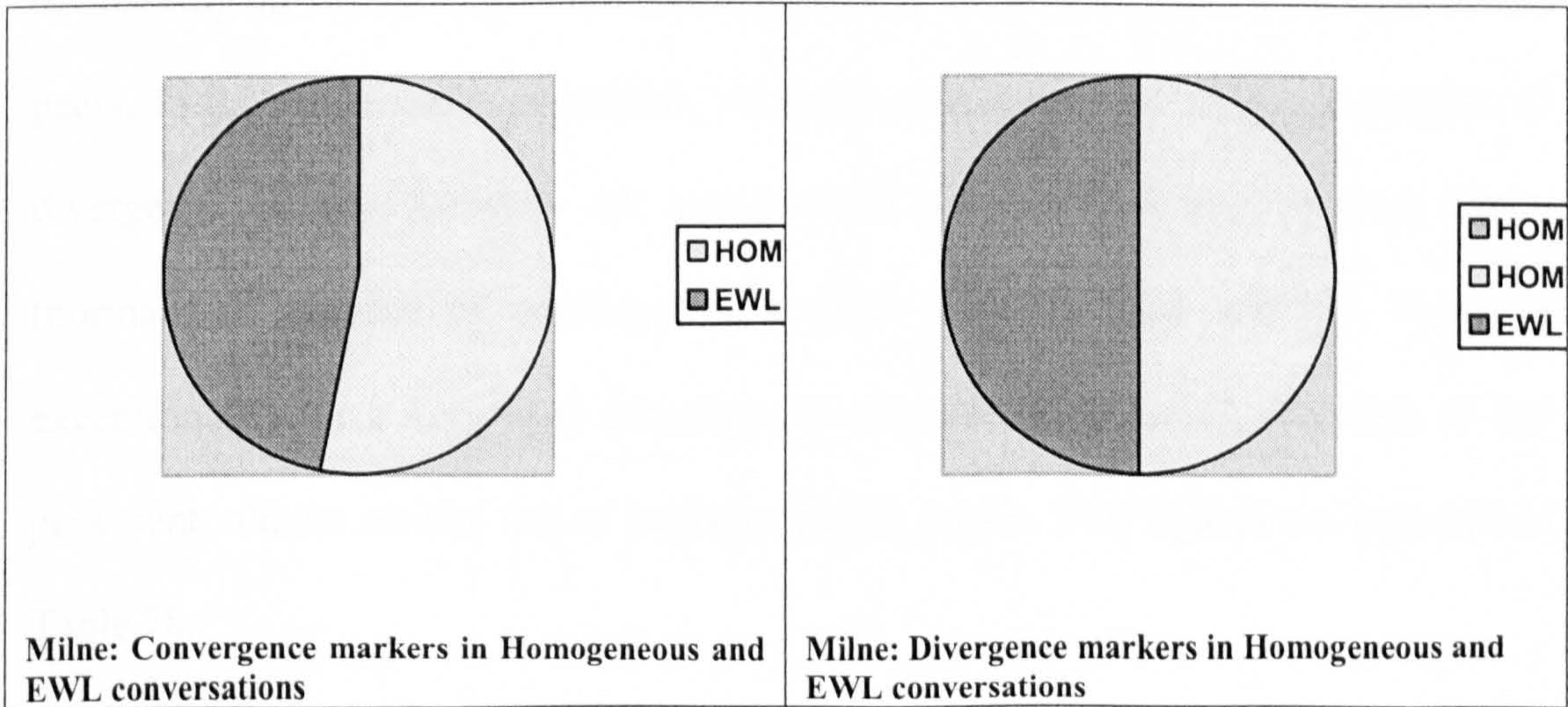


Figure 11 Milne – conversational style markers

Betty’s extensive use of convergence markers in her EWL conversation has already been referred to in the context of a discussion of her leadership position. Her keenness is, however, matched by another of the English speakers: Susy uses a similar number of markers in her EWL conversation. The other English speaker, John, is a much less enthusiastic user of convergence marking, perhaps for gender reasons. John also marks his turns for divergence to a lesser extent than his two female co-nationals, but all three follow the trend of marking their homogeneous conversation turns more for divergence than they do their EWL conversations and vice versa with convergence marking. The complete figures are given in Table 27.

Name	Convergence Markers		Divergence Markers	
	EWL Conv.	Homog Conv	EWL Conv	Homog Conv
Betty	55	34.64	5	23.48
Susy	52	13.2	14	16.3
John	4	4.4	2	10.7

Table 27 English speakers – conversational style markers

Milne’s conversational style seems unchanged in the two types of conversation and, as has been noted, it is impossible to examine the extent to which this is a trait he might share with his co-nationals. The existent data does, however, show that his use of marking in his homogeneous conversation is fairly consistent with that of his peers. In the American conversation, all participants use a (normalised) number of divergence markers between 4.8 and 7 while three out of four of them use a (normalised) number of convergence markers between 12.5 and 17. Cindy is exceptional, with a very high convergence marker rating, largely because of her persistent, almost tic-like use of backchanneling words. Full figures are reported in Table 28.

Name	Convergence Markers		Divergence Markers	
	EWL Conv.	Homog Conv	EWL Conv	Homog Conv
Milne	10	12.5	6	6
Sindy		43		4.8
Dolores		14		7
Candice		17		6.3

Table 28: American speakers – conversational style markers

All that can be said without further data is that Milne’s consistency across both types of conversation is in line with his similar consistency when it comes to role. In the light of the general result, reported in Chapter 8, showing that the American group differed from the others in maintaining a high level of convergence in its conversation, compared to its corresponding level of divergence, it would be extremely interesting to find out the extent to which Milne’s behaviour is normal and, therefore, the extent to which EWL conversations are influenced by American conversational style.

4.4 Betty and Milne - Conclusion

Betty and Milne present somewhat different profiles in that Betty conforms to and exceeds by far the norm by which EWL conversations show more convergence than homogeneous ones. Perhaps more strikingly, Betty’s role-change from one conversation to the other is quite dramatic but in this respect it seems clear that she is not particularly typical. Milne, on the other hand, seems to make very few changes at all from one conversation to the other, with the noticeable exception of his participation rate, falling considerably in his EWL conversation. It may seem paradoxical to ascribe his relatively few turns in EWL 6 to his perceived high language competence when the reverse was suggested in the case of Comfort. Lack of familiarity with international settings may be another factor, which might also

explain Milne's tendency not to make changes to his style and role and not to enter the EWL conversation until comparatively late on.

5 Conclusion

This study of six individual participants has shown that within general tendencies towards differences between intercultural and intracultural conversations, there are also many irregularities: some speakers carry over their vocabulary, style and role from one type of conversation to the other with almost no change while others make marked, almost dramatic changes. The use of 'culture' (in inverted commas because of the inevitable stereotyping associated with North/West and South/East cultural constructs) and speaker gender to explain tendencies may be of some interest, while more individual traits, such as the perceived level of maturity or language competence seem to be more relevant.

In terms of general tendencies, the six case studies do show that, where participants do make changes, the changes have them being more interactive, more attentive to each other and more convergent in their EWL conversations than they are in their homogeneous ones.

Chapter Ten

Conclusion

1. Summary

This thesis has set out to characterise English as it is spoken across cultural and national boundaries. The aim was to add to the ongoing body of research concerning itself with language in a changed world, where the traditional boundaries between English spoken by and taught to native speakers, and English as a second or foreign language have been breaking down. At the outset, the notion of ‘an’ English, spoken world-wide, was problematised and, at a theoretical level at least, found to be less than one hundred percent tenable. It was decided that the objective of the thesis could not be that of identifying an international or intercultural variety of English and the focus therefore shifted to the question of how English, irrespective of variety, is used in international settings. The two labels often associated with such use, EIL and ELF, were examined and found to be slightly wanting and, as a result, the EWL label was chosen to represent English used by any speakers whatsoever, whether so-called native speakers, non-native speakers or anyone in-between, in extra-national settings. In order to typify English used in these settings, it was decided to compare international conversations with conversations among co-nationals.

Previous research in the areas of EIL and ELF suggested that there may be asymmetries in international conversations where native speakers are present and that, conversely, a good deal of co-operative language might be expected where non-native speakers together constructed communities via their use of English. The thesis therefore took on the specific aim of testing these hypotheses alongside the general aim of characterising English as a World Language.

The plans were then laid for carrying out data gathering and analysis: it was decided to collect together a relatively large pool of speakers from a wide range of English-speaking backgrounds and to try to find out, in the first instance, how they saw

themselves and others within the native speaker/non-native speaker framework. Speakers were then placed into international groups and further tests were carried out to find out how group members thought of each other, again in terms of their language use. A range of recording, transcribing and analysis options were then pondered before a decision was made to record each group in a simulation which was later transcribed and analysed using an eclectic approach with a bias towards discourse analysis, pragmatics, interactional sociolinguistics and critical discourse analysis. The resulting analysed conversations were compared to similar conversations, the result of identical simulations, carried out among speakers in national groups. Wherever possible, speakers who had taken part in the international conversations were also recorded speaking among their co-nationals.

The results have been reported in three separate chapters of this thesis: one international conversation was examined in very close comparison with one intranational one, all the conversations were then examined more superficially and finally six individual speakers, in three pairs, had their use of language scrutinised in an international and an intranational setting.

The results seem to confirm that speakers in international settings tend towards the construction of comity, attempt to co-operate with each other and try to find common ground by making extensive use of convergence strategies. This is not to say that speakers, even the same speakers, do not use convergence strategies when conversing with their co-nationals; what the results show is that there is a substantial reduction in divergence strategies when English is being used internationally, compared to intranational use. The presence of native speakers in some of the conversations does not seem to have made a great deal of difference to the results.

2. Discussion

A first reaction to these results might be that they present a most predictable picture: it would seem very obvious that a group of people who do not know each other and who come from different cultural backgrounds are likely to be more sensitive to each other, more tentative and less direct than people who are among co-nationals, with whom they share a great deal, culturally and linguistically, and with whom they therefore feel at ease enough to be more direct and more open.

That said, the results are still somewhat uneven and further research would be required in order to make a stronger statement. It was noted in Chapter 9, for example, that the change in language behaviour in one participant, from his intranational conversation to his international one, might or might not be representative of his national group. Another individual actually used more divergent behaviour in her international conversation than she did in her intranational one, going against the general pattern emerging from the other participants. If the results confirm a common-sense perception, there is all the more reason to carry out further research to guard against the danger of the 'common sense' comfort zone.

What might be less obvious is the apparent lack of observable asymmetry associated with native speakers confronting non-native speakers. There are plenty of asymmetries in all the conversations but little in the way of general explanations. At times it seems that participants situated in the culturally-constructed North and West are dominant participants, but there are instances in which the opposite is true. Men sometimes take a dominant role, but, again, there are instances where other participants seem subordinate to a woman. In the international conversations where native speakers are present, no particular pattern of asymmetry emerges.

What does emerge has as much to do with anthropology and sociology as it does with the study of language: people accommodate to each other, using 'Foreigner Talk' at times (if that term is chosen to describe their behaviour), they seem to make use of slightly different identities in different circumstances, behaving, typically, as a national among co-nationals but modifying that behaviour when in international settings.

A further less obvious facet of the results lies in the choice of linguistic forms with which participants clothe their attempts at creating convergence.

Participants hedge their suggestions and proposals using 'maybe' and 'perhaps', using 'could' instead of 'can', 'would' instead of 'will'; they tone them down using 'a little bit' and 'just' or by being vague; they agree with each other using the performative verb 'agree', but mostly by saying 'yeah' and, similarly, they make little use of the performative 'concede', preferring to make concessions in appropriately coherent statements to that effect. They use question tags, 'you' and 'we' to appeal to each other in an atmosphere of community-building and pepper their conversations with laughter, much of which seems slightly forced. They make limited, but noticeable use of colloquial language, vague language and even jokes in order to keep up an atmosphere of co-operation. And underlying everything else, they use forms of English which, in the main, seem to be perfectly comprehensible to other group members, irrespective of nationality.

A number of questions seems to be suggested by all of this. The first question is about whether or not the striving for comity and the tendency towards convergence is a human universal. Since it is anthropological or sociological in nature, and not a language-study question, it falls well beyond the scope of this thesis and has possibly been answered in the relevant literature.

Following closely this general behavioural question, is the further question which asks about the universality or otherwise of how, linguistically, the striving for comity manifests itself: are the various linguistic devices used to achieve comity universal and do users of English, therefore, translate them more or less from their other languages?

A connected question has to do with the position of monolingual speakers of English who, by definition, cannot translate forms from another language but who may or may not make a selection from their monolingual repertoire, according to their perceptions of how English might work when used internationally.

A final question needs to be asked concerning the underlying comprehensibility of the language forms used in EWL.

Different answers to these questions will imply different general views of the position of English as a World Language and will entail different approaches to teaching English for World communication purposes.

2.1 Anthropological and sociological universals

If the striving for comity and convergence is a natural, universal one, then many of the worries concerning English and linguistic or cultural imperialism are, from an albeit naïve point of view, unfounded: EWL is only a positive force, facilitating a universal urge. There are many riders to this ingenuous position, of course: in order to be positive and beneficial, English has to be available to anyone and everyone and has to be acquired without detriment to other languages and associated cultures, which must be not be artificially held back from development. It must not facilitate the empowerment of some, at the expense of others (Kandiah 1998:82-3).

Brutt-Griffler's view is highly optimistic in this respect, while Phillipson represents the pessimistic side of the coin (Brutt-Griffler 2002, Phillipson 1992).

The pedagogic and educational entailments are straightforward: policies should provide for the maximum spread of English to all citizens and should, at the same time, seek to protect and nurture other languages and cultures.

2.2 Universal manifestations

The second question has to do with the extent to which users of English may borrow strategies, procedures and language forms from other languages and cultures. The results in this thesis show common tendencies to use convergent strategies, which make use of a range of procedures including hedging and downtoning. Linguistic items such as 'maybe' and 'perhaps' are used to hedge, while items such as 'a little bit' and 'just' are used to tone down utterances.

While the strategy itself may represent a universal, the procedures and language forms may not: procedures for saving interlocutors' face, acquiring the right to give an opinion, accepting compromise without losing face are, it seems different in different cultures (Scollon and Scollon 1995). Language items may or may not be approximately translated.

In this respect, English is certainly not neutral. It represents a way of dealing with people which is not necessarily shared by other cultures and languages and, as such, may well wash back into other languages and cultures. Cameron has noted, for example, how English-based forms of communication are often considered the best way to personal advancement in Japanese society, in what she calls the 'global ideology of communication' (Cameron 2002).

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This does not necessarily have a great deal to do with the native-speaking countries and their quasi-imperialistic reach. It is, however, interesting to note how, in the conversations in this research, the American homogeneous conversation was, among all the intranational ones, the most ‘convergent’, leading to possible speculation that the international conversations follow American lines. It does, however, signal the globalising ‘discourse of English’ which implies ‘a cultural politics’, a different representation of the self, even where those at the so-called periphery have rearticulated English for their own purposes (Pennycook 1994:34 and 2002).

This view, which the results in this thesis could so easily support, entails an approach to teaching English which would place it in a critical framework, presumably at one with the culture within which it was being taught, and which would allow learners and users to maintain a distance from the communication systems in play and to be wary of those systems uncritically affecting other cultures and languages.

2.3 The native speaker question

The results show that native speakers are similar to non-native speakers in that their language behaviour in international settings is different from that in intranational ones. The notion of Foreigner Talk has been found to be inadequate to account for this while the idea of accommodation is more satisfactory. In seeking to accommodate to, and then to converge with their international interlocutors, native speakers draw on their language resources in ways which they presumably feel are appropriate. It might be said therefore, that they participate in the process of creating a ‘third’ culture, just as non-native speakers do (c.f. Meierkord 2002:119).

The results also show that native speakers are not the necessarily most influential language users when it comes to creating models to which other speakers may accommodate. This strengthens the point that EWL, the ‘discourse of English’, is not necessarily a native-speaker-driven machine and that the ‘globalising periphery’ (c.f. Pennycook 2002) may have some influence over its functioning.

The Nuffield enquiry, referred to in Chapter 2, Section 4.1, suggested that British pupils be taught how to use English internationally. The results here might show ways in which this could be approached. On the other hand, the fact that the native speakers appeared to select appropriately from their language repertoire in order to make their international conversations run smoothly might suggest that no such instruction would in fact be necessary.

2.4 International English revisited

All the participants in the reported conversations communicated with each other without any apparent difficulties. There were very few instances of clarification and no obvious instances of misunderstanding. Participants in the international conversations came from 24 different national backgrounds, several of which were represented by people speaking different languages.

The relative ease with which everyone communicated points at the very least to a common core which interactants drew on, judiciously avoiding anything which might have seemed too local.

While it is therefore incontrovertible that a new community and culture is potentially founded each time a fresh international group of English-users meets and talks, it also appears that the notion of a standard, or standardising international English,

dismissed in Chapter 2, may be a practical reality even though it cannot be a theoretical one.

As far as teaching English is concerned, it therefore seems to matter little what is taught, since the evidence here suggests that, irrespective of the variety of English learned, interactants were able to draw on their resources successfully. If there is anything to be gained, it is in the area of how English is taught, bringing up again the critical questions referred to above and the necessity for rehearsing strategies and procedures likely to be useful in international settings.

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